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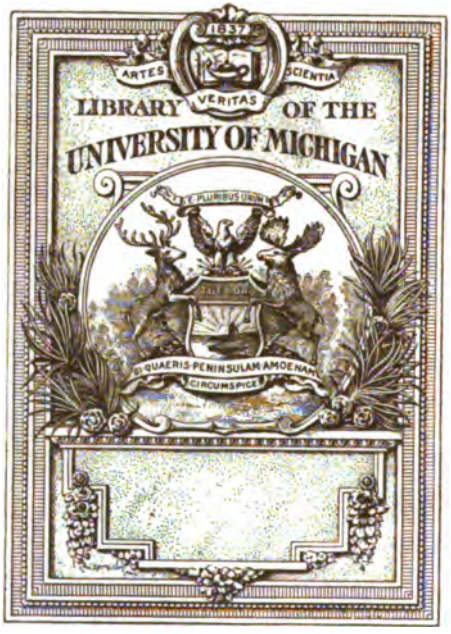

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TRAVELS IN RUSSIA,

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TRAVELS

IN

RUSSIA,

THE KRIMEA, THE CAUCASUS,

AND

GEORGIA.

By ROBERT LYALL, M.D. F.L.S.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON; OF THE WERNERIAN NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH;
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, AND OF THE NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY, OF MANCHESTER;
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&c. &c. &c.

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CHAPTER XIII.

FOUNDATION OF TIFLÍS UNCERTAIN. — ITS CONNECTION WITH GEORGIA. — HISTORY OF GEORGIA. — ITS CONNECTIONS WITH RUSSIA. — CHURCHES IN GEORGIA. — TOLERATION. — PRODUCTIONS. — TOWNS. — POPULATION. — REVENUE. — ADMINISTRATION. — MEDICAL *UPRAVA*. — CHARACTER AND CONDITION OF THE GEORGIANS. — BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION. — UNCERTAINTY OF PROPERTY. — ATTACKS OF THE LESGHEES. — PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS. — DEPARTURE. — RUSSIANS MUSHROOM-EATERS. — ROAD TO MUCHROVÁN. — DESCRIPTION OF MUCHROVÁN. — THE YÓRA. — RUINS OF A CONVENT. — GAMBÓRA. — HILL OF GAMBÓRA. — DESCRIPTION OF TELÁV. — DEPARTURE. — THE ALASÁN. — YENISÉLI. — GEORGIAN DINNER. — WINE OF KACHÉTIA. — PRINCE GEORGIÁDTSOF. — RUSSIAN CAMP. — KVARÉLLI.

As already alluded to, some have pretended to have traced the foundation of Tiflís up to the year 469, and ascribe it to Vachtang, in those days a

sovereign of some consequence, who, by force of arms and repeated victories, acquired dominion over the mountainous regions and the unbounded plains which stretch between the Black and the Caspian Seas. But, with respect to these early periods of history, we have yet much to learn; and, for 500 years after the assumed foundation of Tiflís in 469, we are presented with a blank or chasm, which is not likely to be filled up. I shall now take notice of Tiflís as connected with Georgia, and as having been the capital of her tsars in periods of greater glory than she can now pretend to, or think of recovering.

The tsar David, surnamed the Restorer, who reigned from the year 1089 to 1130, endeavoured to make the sciences flourish within the walls of Tiflís. He sent twelve young men, of good families, to study at Athens, who returned to their country, and brought with them useful knowledge, and Greek manuscripts, which they translated into their own language. The most laborious and the most learned of their writers was Petrucius, surnamed the Philosopher. Knowledge very soon spread through this country, hitherto barbarous; and the reign of the Princess Tamar improved those happy dawnings. Many schools were formed, and the number of good books was augmented. The protection which that princess granted to seminaries, and the brilliant acts of her reign, have acquired, with justice to her memory, the title of *great*. Soon

after her death, the famous Tchingis Khan ravaged this unfortunate country. In vain some Georgians endeavoured to preserve the knowledge of science and literature in some isolated convents and strong holds among the mountains, where the manuscripts were concealed; but, continual wars, civil discord, the yoke of the Mussulmans, whose possessions on all sides surrounded those of Georgia, scarcely left her any communication with Greece, whose tottering throne soon afterwards fell. All these causes replunged Georgia into a state of barbarism, perhaps worse than that from which she had begun to emerge. During their subjection to Persia, the Georgians, especially those of Tiflís, applied themselves to the literature of their conquerors; but the few amateurs of national literature were confined to monasteries, and only began to flourish under the reign of Heraclius, in consequence of the protection which this sovereign, as well as Antonius, the first *Catholikos*, gave to letters, which they themselves also cultivated. Heraclius founded an office for printing in Georgian characters at Tiflís, an establishment which was increased by the care of Gaius, archbishop of Pénza, who made a present to the nation of a printing-office which he had at Mozdók.

I must refer the reader to consult other sources for the minutiæ of the history of Georgia. It cannot be irrelevant to our present subject, however, to give a rapid general sketch of this country, par-

ticularly of its connection with Russia. In the execution of this design I have profited by Madame Freyganch's labours.

Every nation is ambitious of carrying its genealogy as high as possible. The Georgians pretend to trace theirs to Noah, who, they say, gave this country to his son Shem. It is from Farsis, and after him from Targamos, that the Armenians, Lesghees, Colchians, Mingrelians, and the natives of the Caucasus, derive their origin. In course of time, the Persians seized on Georgia, and kept it, until Alexander the Great, obtaining possession of it by his conquest of Persia, gave the government to Ason. This man was, after the death of Alexander, killed by Pharnabazus, a relation of Darius, who made himself master of Georgia, and became its first king, about 300 years before the Christian æra. From this epoch, they enumerate ninety sovereigns, whose succession extends to our time: among these are Assyrian, Armenian, and Persian princes. The throne of Georgia has been occupied by females also; of whom Tamar, who reigned from 1171 to 1198, has rendered herself famous by victories over the Turks and Persians. She married Bogholyúbskii, a Russian prince, and was succeeded by Rus-Oudan, her daughter, who reigned at the time when Tchingis Khan overran Georgia, which he did upon three different occasions. Afterwards the famous tsar Tamerlane made dreadful havoc in his endeavours to introduce Mahome-

tanism. What, however, proved most prejudicial, was the partition of the country, which many of its sovereigns had the imprudence to make. By it they facilitated the attempts of the Persians and Turks, who continually encroached, making this the theatre of their wars. Alexander I. divided it in 1424 into three principalities, namely, Kartalínia, Kachétia, and Imerétia, with which he endowed his three sons. These provinces fell under the power of numerous princes, whose origin is referred, like that of all the Georgian chiefs, to the three sons of the tsar Alexander.

The fate of Georgia was at length decided by the war of Amurat the third, the Turkish Sultan, against the Persian Schahs, Mahomet Khodabende, Ismael the Third, and Abbas the Great, the rival powers dividing it between them. Mingrélia, Gouriél and Imerétia, submitted to the Turkish yoke; the remainder, comprising Kachétia, Somhétia, and Gárdaban, fell into the hands of the Persians. This division took place in 1576, under the reign of the first Simon, tsar of Kartalínia. In order to establish a barrier between their possessions and those of Persia, the Turks invited the Tartars, who inhabit the mountains, and profess the same creed with them, to enter Georgia and lay it waste on the side of Persia. These depredations, which harassed the whole country, determined the tsar Alexander II. to implore assistance from Phéodor Ivanovîtch, tsar of Moscovy, to whom

an ambassador was sent for this purpose in 1586, beseeching him, for the defence of Georgia, to build a Russian town upon the Térek. This treaty placed Georgia under the protection of the Russians, who communicated thereupon with the Schah Abbas. That prince, being at war with Turkey, feared to irritate the tsar, and came into his views. A few years later, George, tsar of Kartalínia, threw himself upon the protection of Russia, where Boris Phedorovítch Godúnof now reigned. From this time Georgia had the support of Russia, which has often saved her from ruin. It should be observed, that when, in 1678, she again solicited protection, it was specified, in the treaty as delivered to the tsarévitch Nicolas, that she placed herself under the dependance of Russia, where many of the Georgian tsarévitches came thereupon to reside. *

While the Turks and the Persians ravaged Georgia, Peter the Great, either wishing to have a share in the spoil, or to check the progress of the other aggressors, caused his troops to take possession of Derbént and Bakú, which, with the provinces of Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Astrabad, were afterwards ceded to Russia by treaty. Georgia had again no tranquillity until 1729, when Russia concluded a treaty with Persia. Seven years after this, Schah Nadir, named Tamas Kooli Khan, having mounted the throne of Persia, delivered Karta-

* Letters from the Caucasus and Georgia, p. 119.

línia and Kachétia from the Turkish yoke. Russia, on her part, by a treaty in 1732, ceded her possessions between the Térek and the Koor. In 1735, Turkey renouncing all pretensions to Georgia, consented to the occupation of the country by the Persians, after which the Georgians contributed greatly to the success of Nadir Schah.

Taimouras, who became viceroy of Georgia, with his son Heraclius, defended their territories against all their enemies, and even obtained repeated victories over the competitors for the throne of Persia; but, for the sake of increasing their power, they entered into an engagement with the Empress Elizabeth to maintain fidelity to Russia. In consequence of a rupture between Taimouras and Heraclius, in 1760, the latter seized Kartalínia and Kachétia, became very formidable, and, in 1763, fought with the Russians against the Turks. In 1774, peace was concluded between Russia and Turkey; and Kartalínia and Kachétia were declared independent. In 1783, different unsatisfactory reasons were assigned for the cession of both these provinces to Russia. A new war broke out between this power and Turkey; but, at the peace of 1791, the Georgians were declared independent of the Turks. Aga Mahomed Khan, who had ascended the throne of Persia, completed the misfortunes of this people in 1795. By forced marches from Georgia he reached Tiflís, with a numerous army, surprised the tsar Heraclius, who, although above

eighty years old, fought like a hero, and did prodigies of valour, but was only able to save himself and his family by flight. Tiflís was ravaged, burned, and almost entirely demolished. All its principal inhabitants, especially the females, were carried into captivity. The Russian army, under Count Zúbof, entered Georgia, and gained several advantages in 1796; but the Empress Catherine II. died, and the singular Paul recalled the troops.

Heraclius died in 1798, in the thirty-second year of his reign, and the 84th of his age. After his death discord was renewed between the different competitors to the throne, which, by right of primogeniture, belonged to George, oldest son of the last sovereign. Omar, khan of the Avares, made an irruption into the country, and no doubt would have taken advantage of the civil war, so as to have conquered it completely, if the Russian army, which also entered it at the same time, had not dispersed its troops, and re-established general tranquillity.

According to the account of the Russians, George Heracliévitch (the son of Heraclius), feeling his end approaching, and foreseeing the inevitable evils which his death would cause in his unfortunate country, submitted himself, with all the princes of his family, the grandees, and the people, to the Emperor Paul I. who caused this kingdom to be taken possession of in 1801, and which was confirmed by a manifest of Alexander in the same

year. Kartalínia and Kachétia were divided into five districts: three in Kartalínia, *Góri*, *Lóri*, and *Dushét*; and two in Kachétia, *Teláv* and *Signág*.

Georgia Proper, which is called *Grúsia* by the Russians, and *Goorgistan*, or *Koorchistan*, by the Persians, comprehends the province of Kachétia (ancient Albania), of Imeretia (ancient Iberia), and of Kartalínia. Mingrelia (ancient Colchis), and, since 1813, the *Khánats* of Talíshin and Karabágh also belong to Russian Georgia.

In the part of Georgia now subject to Russia, there are no less than 3000 churches, most of them excessively poor, and many of them in ruins. They are chiefly built in the same style of architecture, which is better illustrated by the vignettes than by descriptions.

Toleration, as in Russia, is extended to all nations and all religious creeds, who have even *their own magistrates* among the Russians to settle their disputes, but always under the cognizance of the governor-general.

Although the climate of Georgia is fine, and the country is rich, sending forth its productions almost spontaneously; though its rivers abound in fish, and numerous herds of cattle are fed upon its abundant herbage, yet it does not appear to be very flourishing, if we might judge either by its population, or by the small number of paltry towns which are scattered throughout its territories.

We have seen that Tiflís has long ceased to con-

tain above 20,000 inhabitants; and it may be questioned whether any of its other towns, within the last hundred years, ever possessed the fourth or fifth part of that number. The present chief towns, besides Tiflís, are Góri, Ananoor, Teláv, and Signág, &c.

Góri is but a small town; Ananoor is a paltry village, of a few miserable huts, as I have already mentioned; Teláv is a mean town indeed; and Signág contains 100 houses, and only 300 or 400 inhabitants.

In Russian Georgia are reckoned 308,000 inhabitants by one account and, by another, which is more accurate, they are 371,200.* They have adopted the manner of life, the costume, and the customs of the Persians, who were their conquerors, and who long held them in subjection. A fourth part of the present population, however, are Armenians.

The revenue of this country is reckoned at 300,000 roubles, which go solely to the support of the administration, and the improvement and renewal of the towns and villages of the country.

Georgia is now under the immediate administration of the military governor-general of "*Georgia, Astrachan, and Caucasus.*" The form of the admi-

* The population of the south of the Russian empire may be estimated thus: Kozáks of the Don, 250,000; Tchernomórskii Kozáks, 14,500; Government of the Caucasus, 122,400, including 25,000 Georgians, Ossetinians, Circassians, &c.; Georgia, 371,200; Mingrelia, 26,000; Imeretia, 80,000; Lesghistán, 20,000; Daghistán, 30,000; Shirván, 25,000; Khánat of Karabágh, 30,000; and that of Talíshin, 30,000.

nistration is similar to that of the governments of Russia. It is under the inspection of a superior Georgian administration, fixed in Tiflís, which is divided into four *expeditions* or departments: 1st, The executive department; 2d, The crown and economical department; 3d, That for criminal affairs; and, 4th, That for civil affairs. Georgian princes and nobles are admitted to the administration as well as Russians. Indeed, some tell us, that the Georgians are governed by their proper laws, and that in their legislation they follow the code of Vachtang, already mentioned. But, at the same time, they inform us, that to the officers of the country, Russians have been joined for the executive department, and that the governor-general has the right to combine the Georgian laws with the Russian penal code, and often to mitigate the sentences. *

* One Russian author, Vsévolojskii, following his countryman, Stchékatof, tells us, that " L'empereur a permis que les Georgiens continuassent *à se gouverner par leurs propres loix.* Ils suivent, pour leur legislation, le code de Vakhtang, un des leurs souverains : *mais on a joint aux officiers du pays des Russes pour la partie exécutive* et le gouverneur-général *a le droit de concilier ces loix avec le code pénal Russe,* et souvent à mitiger les sentences."— *Geographitcheskoyé Slovár Rossiiskaho Gosudárstva,* vol. vi. p. 212; and *Dictionaire Historique-Geographique* of Vsévolojskii, vol. i. p. 198. This chevalier, and real Russian, thus employs much circumlocution with the view of making his readers believe that the Georgians have some share in the administration; but, the fact is, that the Russians are not only for " *la partie exécutive*" — by the way the most important

For the support of the administration in Georgia, were allotted 71,000 roubles, which, I believe, has been augmented to above 100,000 since General Yermólof became governor of this province of the empire.

At Tiflís there is a medical *Uprava*, and in the district towns medical men are stationed.* In the same towns are also commandants, police-masters, cashiers, provincial courts, and other necessary magistracies.

The Iberians, ancestors of the present Georgians, have been celebrated for their valour and conquests, and struggled successfully against the Medes and the Persians †; and Chardin speaks of them as "mutins, legers, et vaillans." Reineggs relates, "that both the nobles and the peasantry of Georgia are given up to a wretched degree of sloth, appearing to despise all laudable pursuits which require attention or labour; and, amongst others, the cultivation of the earth. But this stubborn indolence is not the natural bias of the Georgian. He is fully aware of his wants, of his miserable poverty, and of the usual means of relieving such a state; but he has no hope in

—but they have complete sway in all cases. The Georgian magistrates are mere automata, who afford a cloak to Russian government, or perhaps misrule.

* Vide Explanation, p. 360. of Vol. I.

† Letters from the Caucasus, p. 119.

applying to the resources apparently open to his industry. Oppression is at the door to weigh down his efforts, or rapacity at hand to seize the product of his labours. He is under the eye and the hand, and the double yoke, first of his own chiefs, and then of the powers beyond them, till the burthen becomes too heavy to be borne erect, and the man falls prostrate — a wretched useless slave. Thus avarice sets bounds to its own extortion, by damming up the sources whence it flows." It is remarked with great truth by Sir R. K. Porter, that "constant feuds amongst the chiefs themselves, rendered desperate by the total absence of all law or justice; the inroads of the Lesghees, and bloody wars with the Turks and Persians, all combined to drive the great mass of the people into that state of utter despair, which gradually subsides into the sullen contentedness of sloth, ignorance and poverty." This, as is well said by the same author, "must be the universal situation of every country which has been, for any time, under the subjection, or rather misrule, of a ceaseless change of masters; some, absolutely barbarians, and others who have yet to learn the science of government from Christian laws: and this was the situation of Georgia for a sad succession of times." This is all very just, and Sir R. K. Porter takes the opportunity of contrasting the former with the present condition of

Georgia under the sway of the autocrat of Russia, in his usual style of complacency toward that great northern power. " But," says he, " about twenty years ago, it (Georgia) *was received within the lines of the Russian empire;* and the happy effects on the minds of the people, in feeling themselves under a regular government, secure in its natural strength, and dispensing that security to its appendages, are already become very apparent. Every encouragement to industry is held out to them; and none has more persuasion than the laws, which protect men in the possession of the fruits of their labours. The different European governors who have been put at the head of affairs here, since the junction of the province with Russia, have done all in their power to conciliate both nobles and people, *by the administration of an equal justice,* and a gradual amelioration of all those circumstances which had so long disorganised, and rendered poor, savage, and miserable, all ranks of persons. Being now *effectually guarded* from the inroads of the Lesghees, or the more overwhelming incursions of Turks and Persians, the higher orders begin to feel again that they hold a station in their country; and to establish the re-awakened sense in their own minds, and in the respect of the people at large. His Imperial Majesty has conferred orders and medals of distinction on many of the native nobi-

lity, with titles and commissions of military rank; and, in short, every other excitement to the restoration, or rather civilisation, of the country, that can be offered by a generous sovereign to a brave and confiding people. That they are still brave, when they have any thing beyond mere animal existence to defend, has been made manifest during the last twelve or fourteen years. In the wars of that period, they engaged heart and hand under the banners of Russia; and their chiefs so distinguished themselves, that many rose to the rank of generals; still continuing the brave acts by which their new honours were won. Indeed, it is very evident how much easier their new government finds it to arouse the old spirit of Iberian and Albanian courage in the bosoms of their Georgian descendants, than to inspire them with one for traffic and agriculture." The knight says further, that all will succeed in good time, and that the Armenians set a stimulating example of the ways and means of industry to the Georgians, and show many advantages resulting from their exercise. He also informs us, in his usual complimentary style, that the high reputation as a soldier, which is attached to the character of General Yermólof, and the noble style of his government, not in parade, but in principle, suits well with the naturally independent minds of the people, so long chained to the soil. The marks, he adds, of these evil days, "*now passed away*,

are yet upon the countenances of most of the men: a sort of cloud hangs over their brows, habitual from the gloom that once possessed their souls: but with the growing perceptions of happier times, these shades will disappear, and the brave Georgian look as brightly to the sun as any of his free-born brothers of the mountains." *

The situation of Georgia, as a separate power, seems not to have been enviable. She was open to the attacks of four powerful enemies, the mountain tribes of the Caucasus, the Turks, the Persians, and the Russians; and was often placed between two or three painful alternatives, one of which she was obliged to choose. We need not therefore be surprised that now there are few towns in Georgia, and that these few scarcely deserve the appellation. The improvement of the road through the defiles of the Caucasus, and the consequent increased facility of attack, no doubt gave Russia great advantages; and, by the general turn of political affairs, and her usual cunning policy, that power at length got full possession of the country of the Georgians. In many of the sentiments of Sir R. K. Porter, with respect to the general effects of the Russian government, I perfectly coincide; but when he talks of "*the administration of an equal justice,*" he seems either to have very incorrect ideas of the real state of

* Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. vol. i. pp. 131–4.

affairs, or to have wished to pay a compliment to a power which he feared to offend. For no man dare speak all the truth, and far less commit it to the press, and afterwards attempt to reside in the dominions of Russia, as has been the case with the flattering fawning knight. If he did so, even in these enlightened days, but for the interference of his government, he assuredly would be sent to inhale "the free air of Siberia," before being consigned to the mines, or meeting with an insidious death. There is no danger of being contradicted by any person of veracity and impartiality, when I state boldly, that "*equal justice*" is almost totally unknown in the civil, maritime, or military affairs of Russia or her provinces. As in the Krimea, so it is in Georgia, the laws and the persons in authority, as mentioned, are now partly native and partly Russian; an arrangement that causes great difficulties, many of which, however, are perhaps unavoidable. The same grievance has likewise been and is still complained of by the Georgians, as by the Tauridan Tartars *: viz. that their country has so often changed masters, that it is next to impossible to decide to whom estates and other property belong. I was assured that the tribunals at Tiflis were filled with so many papers, ancient and modern, respecting affairs in litigation, as would occupy some years

* Vide p. 341. Vol. I.

merely to read them. This is a great misfortune for the Georgians, but the Russian authorities will turn it to account. They will reap the advantage of it, as the same system of bribery and corruption which I have elsewhere pourtrayed in pretty strong colours *, has spread its pestiferous influence across the Caucasian mountains, and now reigns at Tiflís, and throughout Georgia.

I must also differ in opinion from Sir R. K. Porter, when he states that the Georgians are even now "effectually guarded from the inroads of the Lesghees," for such is not the case. On the contrary, these savage and predatory people, rushing from the Alpine passes of the Caucasus, continue to make frequent incursions into Kachétia, and often carry off considerable booty, especially cattle, and make their retreat before the Russians are aware of the place of their descent, or, at least, can assemble a force sufficient to justify an attack. The histories of many such affairs were related to us, as we traversed the base of the Caucasus, and we were shown the deep ravines and mountain defiles by which these fierce, and formidable, and brave freebooters, had either made their inroads or secured their retreats.

Colonel Johnson, in reference to the tribes of the Caucasus, and especially to the Georgians, remarks that, "no effectual measures have yet

* The Character of the Russians, p. cxli.

been adopted to civilise these people, and to render them useful subjects of the state to which they belong. The practice lately instituted, of taking some of the young sons of the principal men, to educate them, will no doubt tend greatly to this desirable object. It may be safely assumed, that one main reason which has operated to render the minds of these people unwilling to submit to the laws of their rulers, has been the bad policy of Russia in sending, or rather in exiling to the most distant commands, those of her officers who were most undeserving. This policy has, however, now been changed for a better; and officers, selected on account of their merit, have been appointed to different stations in Georgia. Another great obstacle to the free intercourse of the Caucasian tribes with Russia, arises from the permanent quarantine regulations. An opinion prevails, that the mountain tribes have the plague perpetually among them. Hence they are allowed no communication with the interior, at least by means of the Russians; who, to this day, I believe, have few if any of their own trust-worthy people competent to speak either of the languages of these tribes. The ground of this opinion concerning the plague is therefore never called in question; and these poor people, in mercantile pursuits, suffer so much by detention, exaction, and other grievances at the quarantine stations, that should they be disposed, they could not, without consi-

derable difficulty, under those restraints, take either cattle, honey, butter, hides, furs, *yapoonches*, felts, or any of their merchandise and commodities to Russian markets, or even obtain leave to import to their own mountainous abodes any articles of Russian manufacture for their own use." *

Other twenty years, however, of subjection, of good government, and of general organisation of the civil and military authorities, may be of great consequence to the Georgians; who, as the Russians say, are *tied* to them now by their own interests. And even under the yoke of Russia, Georgia may make progress in civilisation, and acquire an additional importance in the rank of nations, if there happen to be placed over her an intelligent, honest, moderate, and vigorous individual, as her military governor. One might almost say as her ruler, for except in the receipt of orders, this post has the appearance, in many respects, of an independent sovereignty.

On the 22d June, after an early dinner at the civil governor's, General Hofen, accompanied by Mr. Gribayédof †, we bade adieu to Tiflís, with

* A Journey from India to England, p. 265.

† The derivation of this name is very simple. It comes from the noun *grib*, a mushroom, and the verb *yest*, to eat; and therefore signifies *mushroom-eater*. Gribayédof is a very common name; but as all the Russians, nobles and peasants, males and females, are great mushroom-eaters, we may be

the view of making a short tour in Kachétia. After enjoying the picturesque view of the castle of Tiflís, which is represented at the head of this chapter, we crossed the Koor by the wooden bridge formerly spoken of, and ascended to the mean suburb of Avlabári, by a road cut in the mountain. Passing out at a stone gate, we turned to the west, and pursued our course for some versts, during which we had some good views of the bleak barren hills around Tiflís, rising above each other in a wave-like manner. There is a post road to Muchrován, our destination; but besides it, different other roads conduct to the same place. Having no guide, we lost our way, and did not reach this station till late in the evening. Near Tiflís we remarked many corn-fields, and a good deal of pasture land; but the corn had all been cut, and the greatest part of it carried home. This circumstance, however, plainly showed that the appearance of Tiflís must be lively in the spring. We passed numerous carts of the Georgians, on their way to that capital, with the produce

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surprised that it is not still more prevalent. Vide "Remarks on Edible Mushrooms," in the appendix of *The Character of the Russians*, p. 556." The name Bábayédof, vide p. 388. of Vol. I. appears plainly to be derived from *baba*, a grandmother, a midwife, or simply a woman, and *yest*, to eat; but its application I cannot comprehend. It may be connected with some tradition or legend. If we translate it literally, *woman-eater*, it would argue some reference to cannibalism.

of their farms. Our road was over an undulating country, which became more and more interesting as we receded from Tiflís, and to which Nature became more lavish of her bounties. A few versts from Muchrován, we descended into an extensive and fine valley; and from thence, by a long and steep ascent, we reached the military station, so called, thirty versts from Tiflís, and met with a hearty reception from Colonel Peter Nikolàévitch Yermólof, a cousin of General Yermólof.

Muchrován is beautifully situated on an elevated hill, and while it commands a fine view of a valley on the west, it also presents a number of elevated woody mountains, rising above each other, on the east, and gave a correct idea of the fine scenery, scattered with ruins, among which we were about to proceed. This charming place is the head quarters of a regiment, and a battalion is generally stationed at it. Besides the colonel's, the lieutenant-colonel's, and other officers' houses, we found here barracks, a hospital, and a number of *zemláks*, or houses half under ground; and at a short distance is an old church hewn out of the solid rock, which has been converted into a powder magazine.

In the valley on the west flows the river Yóra, and on its banks is a village of Wurtemburghers, called Sertitchali, who were in a prosperous condition. Thus, wherever we go in Russia, we remark colonies of Germans,—from Archangel to

Tiflís, and from Poland to Kamstchátka,—who, in addition to their habits of industry and their general knowledge, also add that of agriculture; and, in consequence, prove useful to themselves, and still more so to the country, by furnishing many places with necessaries and luxuries, and affording practical lessons to the natives, as well as showing them an example of moral conduct. This, however, does not seem to be the case in the Krimea. And, indeed, according to the relation of Mrs. Holderness, there, their conduct and condition is far from respectable.

We were assured that though Muchrován is only thirty versts distant from Tiflís, yet that there is a very material difference of temperature. Indeed it was said, that often while life is almost insupportable at Tiflís, owing to the sultry oppressive atmosphere, at Muchrován it is pleasant though warm. The officers agreed that it was a real punishment to be sent from hence to spend a few days in the Georgian capital.

All the officers of the battalion dined at Colonel Yermólof's, and many histories, with respect to the mountain tribes of the Caucasus, proved the prominent topic of conversation; all of which received the greatest attention.

At five o'clock P. M. on the 23d of June, our party being increased by Colonel Yermólof, Lieutenant-Colonel (Count) Simonitch, and a number of officers, on horseback, while we were in two

calashes, we left Muchrován, and descended a steep hill to the Yóra, which flowed so rapidly, that some dogs, in attempting to swim across it, were carried to a considerable distance in spite of all their efforts. The water did not reach the horses' girths, but the bottom was filled with large stones, so that we expected every moment to be upset.

We passed the ruins of an old castle, and two or three versts beyond them, we reached an ancient monastery. This convent is of considerable extent, and it has a respectable appearance. Its walls are in a ruinous condition. It is now occupied as a station, or place of rest by travellers; and, if one might judge by appearances, also by their cattle. Its principal church is in the same style of architecture as those at Msket and Ananoor.

Pursuing our course to the east, by a winding road, over gentle elevations, through valleys and ravines, across numerous streams and rivulets, and amid fine plantations, wooded hills and mountains, we reached the military station of Gambóra, only two versts distant from a Kozák piquet of the same name. During this ride of twenty-four versts, we saw but very few villages; but ruins of castles and churches were scattered every where. As we got to the station, a cannon was fired, the echo of which among the mountains was the loudest, and the most prolonged, I ever remarked. A rocket was afterwards let off, and

ascended to a great height. This practice is followed every evening, instead of beating a drum, as the signal for the soldiers to take their repose. We were politely received, supped with Lieutenant-Colonel Firsof, and then went to bed.

Gambóra is reckoned a camp, or a military station for a battalion; and, besides tents, many wooden houses have been already erected here. The situation is low, and it is completely concealed by high mountains, clothed, for the most part, with luxuriant wood.

From Gambóra, on the following day, we directed our course to the summit of the hill which has also this name. The ascent begins from the station, and we made a *détour* from the road, accompanied by a single Kozák. We were never obliged to quit our horses, and I should think this mountain does not exceed 1,200 feet in height. It is however the highest hill in this neighbourhood, till we fall in with the great mountain-chain of the Caucasus. The view from it is most magnificent, extensive, and diversified. Mountains, hills, and valleys, finely wooded and watered by many streams and rivers, lay under us; and the course of the Alasán, winding through the vale of Teláv, presented charming scenery. From Gambóra, in clear weather, there is also a good view of the Caucasian Alps; but while we were on its summit, their hoary heads were enveloped in clouds. To enliven the scene, numerous herds

of sheep and cattle were watched by shepherds all round its vicinity.

The Gambóra, besides other plants, is profusely decorated with the beautiful *Pyrethrum Roseum.*

After regaining the great road, which was very bad, we continued our progress, sometimes ascending, at others descending, across numerous streams, through a long and rich valley, whose sides were every where fringed with wood. On emerging from this valley, on our right we remarked the ruins of another ancient monastery, of no very imposing appearance, and after a short ride got to Teláv, and took up our abode in the residence of Major Ilyinskii, the chief of the district of the same name.

There are two roads from the hill of Gambóra to Teláv. On our return we took a different route, through still more romantic and interesting scenery, and often proceeded in the course of the river Tetri-Dskali.

As has been already mentioned, Teláv, miserable as it is, is one of the chief towns of Georgia, even in the present day. It was formerly a place of much more importance, and was one of the royal residences of the tsar Heraclius: a choice which does the sovereign great honour for good taste. Though the chief town of the most populous district in Georgia, it is but a very small place. It is built upon the declivity of a hill, and most of

its houses are concealed among high trees and shrubbery It contains a long line of shops or *bazárs*, like those at Tiflís, and supplied with the same kinds of merchandise. Its population amounts to nearly 1000 souls. It is rather remarkable on account of having no less than three fortresses, in the largest of which the tsar Heraclius often resided, especially in the summer months.

The royal palace is surrounded by one of the fortresses, and is separated by a partition-wall from a number of other houses, which were inhabited by the nobles of the court. It is now in ruins, and the former audience-chamber is used as a stable. It, no doubt, was reckoned a spacious and noble apartment in more ancient times. Major Ilyinskii has repaired a few low and good vaulted rooms in its under story for his own accommodation, in one of which Heraclius died. The windows of this palace, like those of most of the old edifices which we saw in Georgia, are in the Gothic style, or rather an approach to it, their tops being much wider than is common. Adjoining to this edifice is a low building, which was the court-chapel. It is now in ruins, and its place is supplied by a more modern structure close by it. Behind the fortress is a very strong circular battery, one half of which is tumbled down, and within which lies a large cannon, about twelve feet long, and of very great calibre.

I admired the taste which chose Teláv as a resi-

dence, for a more beautiful and commanding spot I have scarcely ever witnessed. The views from it, when the weather is clear, or generally in the morning and evening, are highly sublime, On the north-west it overlooks the vale of Teláv, through which the Alásan flows. This vale is covered with woods, vineyards, rich pastures, fertile corn-fields, backed by gentle hills, and those by the Caucasus rising in grand amphitheatre and mingling with the clouds.

It extends at least to the distance of fifty or sixty miles to the right and left of the town, and is finely intermixed with rich pasture and corn-fields, which are partitioned by rivulets, trees, and shrubs. It abounds with small villages, full of inhabitants, who form the greatest part of the population of the district of Teláv, which amounts to 34,000 souls.

The mountain, on whose side the town itself stands, as well as those by which it is surrounded on the other sides, are richly covered with luxuriant foliage.

After breakfast, on Sunday the 25th of June, according to appointment, our cavalcade was mustered, and consisted of Count Simonitch, Mr. Gribayédof, Major Ilyinskii, with his translator a native prince, Russian officers, Kozáks, Georgians, besides ourselves, amounting to twenty-five individuals, all on horseback, and many of us well armed. Our luggage had been previously sent off under a guard. After descending the hill on which Teláv

is placed, we traversed the fine vale already described, and were met by Prince Georgiádtsof, who, with a number of his people, came purposely to conduct us, and to show us the greatest honour; having the preceding day received notice from Major Ilyinskii of our intended visit. The Alasán always flows with great rapidity, and is only fordable when it has not rained for some days. It was very deep at the time we arrived, but men were stationed to guide us in the shallowest path, and the prince himself preceded the line, to show us the safest ford. We got through without accident, though the horses kept their legs with some difficulty. The passage is highly dangerous, as the only fordable place goes in a zig-zag manner, with which few are completely acquainted, and many lives in consequence are annually lost.

A white church, surrounded by trees, and the ruins of Grémi, described and well represented in next chapter, upon an insulated hill, gave a picturesque effect to the delightful scenery around us, as we entered the village of Yeniséli, which belongs to Prince Georgiádtsof, the houses in which resemble those of Teláv, with the difference of being situated on a plain. Here we dined in a half Asiatic and half European manner. For our party a table was covered, and knives and forks, silver spoons, tumblers, wine-glasses, &c. were provided. In lieu of chairs, long benches were used. Wines, in small earthen jars, and in bottles, were

placed for every guest, and were also handed round in profusion. The dishes consisted of soup strongly seasoned with mint, boiled fish, cutlets with mint sauce, roasted beef, roasted fowls, salad, cucumbers, &c. On a low platform, along the side of the same room, a number of Georgian princes and nobles sat cross-legged, and partook of the same dishes as we did, and they were joined by some of our party. A kind of flat cake, like immense biscuits, served them for plates, and they eat with their fingers in the same way as the Persians. They drank their wine out of a silver ladle, from which it was allowed to trickle into their mouths, and afterwards used immense horns, some of them mounted with silver, and pledged each other to empty them, after the manner which prevailed in our own, as well as in other countries, in more early times.

One of the Georgian nobles gave us a strong proof that he was in the habit of using liberal potations, for he pledged almost every individual in the company to empty the horn with him, and he drank the wine to the last drop. Yet he managed his horse perfectly well afterwards, though a little merry.

Coffee was now served up. While the party was occupied, I sallied out, and passing near the apartments of the Prince's lady, was addressed by an old duenna, in Russian, who introduced me to the Princess and her sister, with whom I had a little conversation. I afterwards conducted our party,

one by one, to this lady, who behaved extremely well, and like a person who had seen something of polished life. The Prince, who had received notice of our visit, met us as we were retiring from his spouse's apartments, and, it was evident, was not well pleased at our curiosity. The whole of the individuals of the cavalcade were now conducted to an out-house, which we were told was the wine-cellar. We looked in vain for the wine, and upon enquiry were informed that it was buried in the earth in enormous-sized jars, much larger than hogsheads or puncheons. Spades were brought, the earth was cleared away, and the lids of two of these jars were opened, and the wine was handed round to the whole party in silver ladles. A number of peasants, then assembled around them, and with little earthen jugs they made ample amends for our deficiency in the drinking way.

The Kachétians make both red and white wine of excellent quality. The red we thought equal to Burgundy, which it greatly resembled.

Prince Georgiádtsof's revenues amount only to 4000 silver roubles, or about 16,000 paper roubles of Russia, = nearly £667 sterling. But in a cheap country, and in a fruitful territory, this is enough to enable him to maintain his rank, and to make a considerable appearance among his countrymen. His house, which resembles that of a second class farmer, has a very plain appearance, and is very

shabbily furnished. But more attention is paid here to fine silk dresses, gaudy show, and parade, than to good houses. In this respect the natives resemble many of the Russians, who drive their carriages and four though they have scarcely a room fit to receive a visitor; and, although they should go from house to house, day after day, to dine with their relations, friends, and acquaintances, knowing that they have but poor fare at home. The Georgians, who do not use carriages, expend their money upon themselves, and upon fine riding-horses and their trappings.

Joined by our host, his brother, and some other nobles, we left Yeniséli, and, after proceeding two versts farther, we arrived at the wicker-work camp of a detachment of Russians, who formed a corps of observation at the base of the Caucasus, ready to act in case of a descent of the Lesghees. We now kept by the base of the mountains, passing through villages surrounded by vineyards, of which Shilda was the largest, crossing innumerable rills and streams, and traversing much interesting woodland. After a ride of eight versts, we reached the border of the plain, and continued our road to Kvarélli. Here there is a square and well built fortress, which had something noble in its appearance from its magnitude, and seemed to date its origin in antiquity from the style of its architecture.

Our cavalcade took up its lodgings for the night

in the ruins of a large house belonging to Prince Tchavtchavádtsof. We ascended by a stair, and then by a ladder, to an open gallery, in which supper was served up to the whole assembly, in the Georgian fashion. Wine circulated freely, and was liberally partaken of by the natives. Some of the cavalcade slept in the gallery alluded to. Our party were lodged in a small miserable room, and we made our beds on the floor, with the assistance of some hay and our *búrchas*.

CHAP. XIV.

DEPARTURE FROM KVARÉLLI.—GRÉMI CASTLE.—SHACKRIÁNI.—LALISKÚRI.—GEORGIAN FEMALES.—THE TUSHÍNTSI.—ALVÁN.—ALAVÉRDI.—RETURN TO TELÁV AND MUCHROVÁN.—FESTIVAL.—RETURN TO TIFLÍS.—AN AVALANCHE.—GULDENSTÀÈDT'S TRAVELS.—THE CAUCASUS A FINE FIELD FOR A TRAVELLER'S RESEARCHES.—THE MILITARY LINES OF DEFENCE IN THE CAUCASUS.—INHUMAN CONDUCT TOWARD THE MOUNTAINEERS.—NEW FORTRESSES.—COLONISATION IN GEORGIA.—MORTALITY OF GEORGIAN ARMY.—RUSSIAN POLICY.—INROAD OF THE MOUNTAINEERS.—ARMY OF THE CAUCASUS AND GEORGIA.—RUSSIAN AGGRANDISEMENT.—PLANS FOR ITS ACCOMPLISHMENT.—STATE OF PERSIA.—PROBABLE CONDUCT OF RUSSIA.—INVASION OF INDIA.—SIR ROBERT WILSON'S OPINION.—BUONAPARTE'S OPINION.—OPINIONS OF OTHERS.—CONQUEST OF TURKEY.—BUONAPARTE'S OPINION.—POPULARITY OF IN RUSSIA.—THE GREAT DUKE CONSTANTINE.—THE ROYAL FAMILY OF GEORGIA.—ALEXANDER MIRZA, HEREDITARY PRINCE OF GEORGIA.

On the 26th June we left Kvarélli, and returned some versts by the same road by which we had

reached it. We then directed our course, through the plain of Teláv, to the ruins of Grémi. This ancient fortress occupies an insulated woody hill, as is well seen in the romantic view in the opposite vignette. It includes an old church, built in the same style of architecture as those of Tiflís and Ananoor, and, besides, has a separate belfry. This church is in a ruinous condition, and its interior is in wretched order; but service is regularly performed within its walls. The belfry is now difficult of ascent, but the charming prospect enjoyed from its summit repays the labour. Behind the church are the ruins of another fortress, upon a high mountain, whose oblique strata are well seen through scattered trees, and backed by the lofty range of the Caucasus. A crystal rivulet runs in the valley below, and adds great beauty to the scene.

We were told that León, the tsar of Kachétia, was interred in the church of Grémi.

All around the hill on which the castle is placed, we saw numerous ruins of walls, arches, and *caravanserais;* and, we were informed, that formerly thousands of Jews dwelt here. According to Guldenstædt, this was the town of Grémi which had numerous churches. *

Passing the village of Nikolàévka, we reached

* Reize durch Russland, und im Caucasischen Gebürge, vol. i. p. 240.

Shackriáni, which belongs to Prince Georgiádtsof, the brother of the Prince at whose house we dined on the preceding day, and who met us there, and conducted us hither. His house was simply enclosed by a high wattled fence, including a large court before it, and had not a more imposing appearance than his brother's. Here we breakfasted. *Vodtki*, boiled and roasted fowls, cucumbers, onions, bread, butter, and cheese, formed the principal part of our meal, of which the whole cavalcade partook, as well as of the wine, which was offered in great profusion, in tumblers, ladles, and pitchers. Pursuing our route, not far from the base of the Caucasus, through most agreeable scenery, we arrived at Sanitóri, the estate of Prince Aválof, where we dined exactly in the same style as on the preceding day.

We had not proceeded many versts on our way, when Laliskúri, a small estate, with an indifferent house upon it, came into view, and we were met by its proprietor, Prince Tchelokáof, who invited us to pay him a visit. We ascended a stair, and were somewhat astonished at being presented to the Princess, a fine woman, with aquiline nose, and most interesting features and demeanour. Like the other Georgian nobles, she was dressed in wide flowing silks; but, instead of wearing the long waist, usual in her country, which altogether spoils the figure, she was dressed in the most approved European fashion. This was the only instance in which we

were allowed to see any of the Georgian ladies openly. At other houses we visited, they were always shut up in their own chambers, which are reckoned sacred. And, as for the common women, they are the most disagreeable I have ever seen. I refer more especially to those at Tiflís, whom there is no difficulty, now-a-days, in seeing. They dress in the most slovenly manner, and, I believe, through a proper want of delicacy, expose the upper part of the body in a very disgusting manner, especially the old women. Their clothes, or rather rags, besides, are generally in a filthy state. In Georgia we certainly saw some of the most beautiful, and some of the most disgusting, females in existence.

Travelling on, we were soon joined by the chief of one of the most savage of the tribes of the Caucasus, the Tushíntsi, whose territories we were now approaching. His name was also Prince Tchelokáof, and he had come some versts to meet us. One of our cavalcade, who had advanced before us, and was very short-sighted, suddenly came upon a party of these ferocious mountaineers, who were watching some property, which they were carrying towards the defiles of the mountains. Whether it was honestly acquired, or the booty of some incursion, it became us not too curiously to enquire. On seeing the intruder, they immediately seized their loaded muskets, and questioned him in a language to which he could make little reply.

Our party coming up, the translator, aware of some misunderstanding, galloped to the Tushíntsi, and gave an explanation which satisfied them. This fact demonstrated that they were not on bad terms either with the Georgians or the Russians, or that they acted politically, knowing that the chief of the district of Teláv was at hand, and had it in his power to have ordered two large packages, which were in sight, to have been seized by our guards.

Just before reaching the resting-place of the Tushíntsi, we passed a beautifully wooded high hill, with the ruins of a castle upon it, with an adjoining church, once a place of some consequence, having been the residence of one of the tsars of Kachétia; but it is now deserted.

We now turned to the plain of Alván, and passed the ruins of the palace of Leon, just alluded to, said to be a very ancient structure, and it appears to have been of considerable size.

We re-crossed the Alasán; and, turning to the west, followed its course, and reached the fortress and monastery of Alavérdi. Being in good repair, it affords an excellent specimen of Georgian architecture. We were cordially welcomed to this monastery by Epiphanius, its *archimandrite;* and a supper, of not less than a dozen dishes, in the Russian style, was presented, and wine served up in profusion. Our own party had a small room allotted for them, while the rest of the cavalcade sought

quarters throughout the apartments of the convent, which were very numerous.

On the 27th June, we amused ourselves in examining Alavérdi, a name which is derived from the Arabic words equal to *Deodonnatus*, or the *Don-Dieu* of the French. The monastery and fortress were built 1200 years ago. Its walls are very high, and of considerable strength. It is situated in an immense plain, as described at Teláv, and is said to be built on buffalo-hides, the situation being marshy. It now contains but few monks. The cathedral church is in the form of a cross, with a cupola nearly in its centre, and its walls are of hewn-stone, which they have had the bad taste to white-wash. Its interior is very mean, The view from its summit, which we gained by passing through a labyrinth of galleries, is very fine.

After breakfast we had a pleasant ride through the valley, and reached Teláv in a very short time, where we passed the remainder of the day. On the 28th June we retraced our way to Muchrován, so as to be present at the name's-day of Colonel Yermólof (St. Peter's) on the 29th, having dined at Gambóra in our way.

As is usual with the Russians, the first part of the day was kept with great solemnity, and the latter with mirth, All the officers of the regiment, as well as all the persons of our cavalcade who remained with us, offered their congratulations in the morning. Divine service was performed in a tent

in a neighbouring valley, which was crowded with officers and men. From the heat of the day, the sun being very powerful, and the blaze of innumerable candles, the church became intolerably hot. I felt almost suffocated; yet the Russians, who are accustomed to breathe extremely rarefied air in their warm chambers, seemed to suffer but little or no inconvenience.

We had an excellent dinner, and among other dishes partook of a small kind of beautiful antelope, here called the *Girán*, which is common among the mountains of Georgia. Ice-creams were served up also, and were highly relished in an oppressively warm afternoon, and showed that the Russians were not inattentive to the luxuries of life here more than in their own country.

In the evening we reached Tiflís, where we passed the following day. While perambulating the town, we were met by a captain of the Russian army, who had been of our party from Mozdók to Vladikavkáz, and who informed us of news which we had heard some talk of at Muchrován; *viz.* that part of the mountain on the east side of the Térek, and near Dariél, had fallen down and completely obstructed the defile of the Caucasus, and that General Wilyemínof had, in consequence, issued orders that nobody should be allowed to depart for the north. This *avalanche*, as they called it, had taken place on the 23d June, only nine days after our passage, so that we had cause to be thank-

ful to Providence that we had escaped, Luckily, when the accident happened, no travellers were near, and no lives were lost. At General Wilyemínof's, where we dined, we learned that many people had been employed, for ten days, in clearing the passage of the Térek, and in rendering the road practicable. On mentioning that we had heard that the general had issued an *ukáz* to prevent travellers proceeding through the *Via Caucasia*, he said he would give a *special order* for our passage and accommodation. This I called a *counter-ukáz*, to the no small amusement of the company, and it greatly solaced us. On the same day, informing the commandant of our wish to return to Moscow, and begging him to make all due arrangements, he answered that he had positive orders to allow no person to depart for the Caucasus; but, on being told of the general's orders, the aspect of affairs was changed.

I may here remark, that the traveller in this part of Georgia, should be provided with Guldenstädt's "*Reise durch Russland, und im Caucasischen Gebürge*;" because, though tediously, and often uselessly minute, it contains much very curious and important information. This author, who belonged to the St. Petersburgh Academy, had excellent opportunities of making just and extensive observations in Georgia. After traversing the south of Russia, he reached Astrachán, and then Kislár, on the Térek, and a frontier town of

which he has given a plan and a detailed description. He made different visits into the north-east parts of the Caucasus, by the course of the Sundja, &c.; Kislár being his head-quarters. In 1771, he made some trips in the country of the Ossetinians, and to the hot baths on the banks of the Térek, and visited the northern part of the Caucasian mountains, which is inhabited by the Dugores. He then crossed this mountain-chain, with a strong guard of Ossetinians, whom the tsar Heraclius had taken into his pay. On his arrival in Georgia, he was received in the most flattering manner by that sovereign, whom he afterwards accompanied in a campaign along the course of the Koor. At different periods he visited Kachétia, Imerétia, Mingrélia, &c.; always accompanied by a formidable guard, sometimes consisting of 300 or 400 men. Subsequently, he returned to Russia, visited the baths at the Beshtau, and reached Petersburgh.

In these days, when so many gentlemen show a disposition for travelling and adventure, one may be justly surprised that no individual from Great Britain ever has travelled far in Caucasus, or given us a good account of the tribes by which this mountain-chain is inhabited, their customs, manners, laws, &c. The greatest part of what we know of the Caucasus and its inhabitants, as well as of Georgia, has been chiefly derived from the Germans, Gmelin, Guldenstädt, Pallas,

Reineggs, Bieberstein, Englehardt, Parrot, Hääs, Klaproth, &c.

Perhaps there is not a spot upon the globe which would yield such a rich harvest to an adventurous traveller, as Mount Caucasus, provided he devoted a few years to its examination and study, and possessed a general knowledge of the sciences and of human nature, so as to be able to turn every circumstance to good account. But in order to reap all the possible advantages of such a tour and residence among the mountains, a person would require to make considerable preparations. He should secure a collection of plans, maps, engravings, and books, so as to be familiar with what has already been done by others. It would be requisite for him to learn the Tartar; and if he had some knowledge of the Persian and of the Russian, so much the better. The vocabularies of the different languages of the tribes of the mountains, given in Klaproth's "*Voyage au Mont Caucase*," would be found of great utility. If he wished to make meteorological, trigonometrical, or barometrical observations, of course he would carry all his instruments from England. He would do well to reside a year at Tiflís, learning languages, gaining every information from others, and making all due preparations for his journeys. This town, Vladikavkáz, Mozdók, Kislár, or Derbént, might be made, at different times, his head-quarters, to which he could return with the fruits of his excursions.

Whoever undertook such a scheme, would do well to think it a task of three, four, or five years' duration, so as to be able to give a good and faithful account of the geography, topography, and productions of the country, &c.; and of the manners and customs of the various tribes of mountaineers. I should suppose the protection of the Russian government would be readily obtained for such an undertaking. If obtained, then, no doubt, the traveller would be provided with strong escorts, by order of the governor-general of Georgia; and with them he might penetrate the mountains both on the north and south, to a short distance, and so acquire a general knowledge of the people whom he wished to study. But in order to get a complete acquaintance, it would be necessary for him, afterwards, when he could speak Tartar, to go into the interior of the Caucasus, and live among the barbarians. This may appear a strange advice to those unacquainted with the rigid adherence which these demi-savages observe to the laws of hospitality, and the care they take of the stranger who intrusts them with his life. This virtue they call *Kunák*, and he who puts himself under their protection, is safe from outrage: he will be defended by his guide, and will never be allowed to depart without an escort, and being committed to the hands of safe allies. *

* Vide Pallas, vol. ii. p. 138. Letters from the Caucasus, p. 46. Klaproth, vol. i. p. 408.

A good drawer would find infinite occupation for his pencil, not only in sketching the fine Alpine scenery with which he would be continually surrounded; but likewise in representing the natives in their various costumes, both peasants and chiefs. At General Hofén's, at Tiflis, we saw above forty portraits of the tribes of Caucasus, painted in oil colours; and although they were not well executed, yet they gave a good idea of the natives and their costumes, and showed what a good painter might do. From different accounts we received, there is reason to believe that many tribes of the Caucasus are yet unknown, and perhaps have never been seen by an European. Shut up in their inaccessible fastnesses in the interior of the Caucasian Alps, in deep valleys, and in the caverns of the rocks, beyond which they have never wandered, and into which strangers have never penetrated, generation succeeds generation, in all the primitive rudeness of nature.

A gentleman of my acquaintance, who is versed in Persian, knows something of Tartar, and besides, has devoted a number of years to the study of the mountain-tribes, and of the geography of the Caucasus, and the neighbouring countries, has proposed to give up his attention entirely to the natives, and to travel across the mountain-chain in different directions. I am confident that the individual alluded to will be able to communicate

much novel information to the public; but it will be impossible for him to speak his mind freely, unless he quit the Russian service; indeed, unless he bid Russia adieu. This gentleman is also very capable of giving some important details respecting the operations of the Russians since their arrival in Georgia; or rather since this country formed a province of Russia.

Before quitting Tiflís, I shall turn the reader's attention to the plans of Russia, her army, and her politics.

The *Military Line of Defence* on the north of the Caucasus, begins at Tamán, and is composed of the fortresses and redoubts described in our route, as far as Mozdók. As our road did not lead by the base of the mountains between that town and Stávropole, we did not visit a number of other forts, as Protchnoi-Okope, Temnolesk, &c. They add considerably to the strength of the line, which at this part is neither protected by the Kubán nor the Térek. From Mozdók, the line of the Caucasus follows the Térek (on which account it is often called the line of the Térek) to Kislár, and from thence to the shores of the Caspian Sea. The military stations, indicated on my map, along this part of the line, are Kalyugáèvskaya, Istchórskaya, Naúr, Kalínovskaya, Tchérvlenskaya, Stchédrinskaya, Novagládkovskaya, Starogládkovskaya, Kargalínskaya, &c. &c. The length

of the *Caucasian Line* *, from Tamán on the Black Sea, to the shores of the Caspian, is nearly 1,000 versts, or 667 miles. By its fortresses and its guards, it prevents all communication between Asia and Europe, except through those who have regular passports, or by hostile invaders. Along such an extensive line it is next to impossible to prevent the frequent predatory incursions of the mountain tribes, who have an inveterate antipathy to the Russians, and delight in doing them every kind of injury.

The southern line of defence of the Caucasus, runs from the Black Sea through the provinces of Abásii, Mingrélia, Imerétia, Kartalínia, Kachétia, Lesghistán, Shékinskoyé, Shirvan, and Apsheron; or from Súhum-Kalé, on the Euxine, to Bakú on the Caspian; and, like the northern line, it is well guarded. The ferocious tribes, however, of the neighbouring regions, especially the Lesghees, make continual incursions into Georgia, and do great damage, and carry off much booty. They rush like a torrent from the defiles of the Caucasus, seize their prey, and retreat to their fastnesses before any sufficient military force can be brought to act against them.

From Bakú to Derbént and Kislár, by the western shores of the Caspian, another line of

* The line of the Caucasus is very particularly described in the great Geographical Dictionary of Russia.

defence is also formed, although less wanted; and the forts of which scarcely need to be guarded.

Thus the range of the Caucasian mountains is completely surrounded by fortresses and guards, except on that part, by the eastern border of the Euxine, between Súhum-Kalé and Anápa.

The great principle upon which the *Caucaso-Georgian* army has been acting for many years, but especially of late, has been to hem in the mountain barbarians on all sides; and this has been accomplished by means equally unjustifiable in the eyes of God and man. Indeed, the heart revolts with horror at the plans which have been pursued by those who deserve not the name of men, in order, as they emphatically speak, "*to civilise the barbarous mountaineers of the Caucasus.*" Troops surround their villages, the signal is given, and they are soon in a blaze. Then commences the cruel, the bloody, and the murderous attack,—the general massacre. At times all perish, young and old; men, women, and children, between the flames and the sword. I have seen two children of the Lesghee tribe, who were the only survivors of such a scene, and who were saved by an officer who snatched them from death, and is now rearing them, as if they were his own progeny, among the mountains of Georgia. At the house of another officer, another boy, a *Tushints*, (I believe) was often presented to us, as the sole representative of a hamlet now no more. The village

was burned, and its inhabitants immolated. This mode of civilisation, by total extermination, is one peculiar to Russia. I shall not readily forget my sensations on examining a penned map of a part of Georgia, and asking the officer to whom it belonged, "what the numerous red marks, especially in the country of the Lesghees, alluded to," when he triumphantly replied, "these red spots indicate the sites of the villages which we burned after our various victorious engagements with the savage natives."

A very intelligent friend, for whose opinions I have the highest regard, after a perusal of this part of the MS., wrote the following remarks on the margin. As he also travelled in Georgia, I was happy that he did so, as I should rejoice to have an opportunity of correcting any mistaken impressions of my own. "This would imply," says he, "that massacres are of common occurrence. If they are, you should state the instances which induce you to think so."—"I think this is quite as unfair an attack on the Russians as ever was made by Dr. Clarke; and unless you can state very accurately the particular instances on which you found so heavy an accusation, I strongly advise its omission. The only instances I ever heard of were those of retaliation for acts of spoliation, for which the Lesghees or others refused all compensation: a cruel retaliation I grant, but by no means deserving what you say of

it."—"The same thing was done by the French in the south of Italy, in the villages of the *banditti;* and the severity of the measure was justified by the necessity. Quære, whether this was not the case in the instances you allude to? If, as I suspect, what you here assert is founded upon one or two instances of the destruction of villages with fire and sword, and those *in some degree* justified by the particular circumstances of the case, beware of a charge of exaggeration and unfairness which such a statement as this would fairly incur. At all events, the data do not justify the inference you draw." I have not altered the text, believing that it, and other similar statements I heard, fully justify my conclusions and severity. The reader will grant, at least, that I have no wish to make a wilful misrepresentation, after the admission of my friend's remarks into this volume; and future events, I fear, will develop that I am too correct, unless shame should operate upon the Russian government, now that it finds some of its measures widely subjected to public opinion. Meantime, I may add, that the gifted lady who translated Madame Freyganch's work, adds a note of considerable importance, to the following sentence:—"The Ossetinians, particularly, are intrepid and hardy as Spartans; it is, therefore, an indispensable policy for Russia to foment divisions among them." "The *very vigorous* policy of the Russian government," says the translator, "towards the

various tribes of Caucasus and Georgia, thus partly acknowledged by our fair author, has lately been represented as rivalling that of their Turkish neighbours, in an undaunted freedom from all those scruples, which are the boasted distinction of our own administration." *

Of late a number of new fortresses have been constructed on the south side of the Caucasian mountains, respecting which I could not obtain any distinct account; and perhaps it may be a part of the policy of the government to conceal from the world what is going on in those regions. General Yermólof's severe policy may suit the ambitious spirit of Russia, but is not calculated to unite the virtues of humanity and bravery; the highest meed of praise a warrior can receive. He may delude himself with the propriety of the most cruel measures to narrow the range of the predatory excursions of the mountain tribes, but he may rest assured, that public opinion will brand his name with infamy for his deeds, as well as that of the monarch who permits them, now that they are fully exposed." †

I have already alluded to a *caravan* of women who were ordered from Russia to join their husbands in Georgia ‡, and we met another on

* Translation of Lettres sur le Caucase, &c. p. 66.

† Vide Courier and Morning Chronicle of 17th Jan. 1824.

‡ Vide p. 458 of Vol. I.

our return from the south. The mortality of the Russian army in Georgia is enormous; and it is not uncommon for one-third of a regiment to be in the hospitals. Like many other places equally fatal to them, as the Krimea and Moldavia, Georgia has, with justice, been called "*The cemetery of the Russian army;*" for it appears evident, that the descendants of the Scythians, as they boast themselves to be, cannot support a warm climate; and, no doubt, had Paul attempted to carry an army to Persia, and from thence to India, the heat would have proved as disastrous to it, as the northern cold did to the troops of Charles the XIIth, and those of the ex-emperor Napoleon. Intermittent fevers — to which the Russians are subject, and in many places proverbially so, as at Moscow and Géörgiévsk*—carry off the soldiers by hundreds. Marsh *miasmata* and very frequent indulgence in new wine may be reckoned among the chief causes, or at least predisposing causes, of those fevers.

"The views," says Colonel Johnston, "of Russia with regard to Georgia, seem to tend towards establishing it as an *entrepôt* for European commodities; as a mart for the produce of the surrounding countries; and, in particular, for the supply of Persia and Turkey. To prepare for realising these views, men of abilities have been

* Vide p. 419.

employed in traversing the country, and in ascertaining the most eligible lines of communication between Georgia and the Black Sea on one side, and the Caspian on the other; availing themselves, as far as may be practicable, of the course of the rivers." * These are laudable objects; and so far both the government and General Yermólof deserve praise; but other pursuits seem to be in serious agitation, as we shall see presently.

As General Yermólof apparently wishes, by all possible means, to consolidate a great and permanent Russian force in Georgia, he has ordered the caravans of women alluded to, to be transported hither, for the purpose of raising a new progeny on the spot; who, in time, may replace their forefathers, and be as hardy as the natives; thus, as it were, forming a kind of military colonies. †

The highlanders of the Caucasus cannot be ignorant of General Yermólof's plans; and it appears that they wish to resist them as far as they can; but, in England, we hear but little of what passes in those distant and mountainous regions.

The following extract from a letter dated Nuremburg, April 14th, 1824, which has appeared in many of the newspapers of this country, sufficiently establishes the truth of the above remarks.

* A Journey from India to England, p. 248.

† Vide "An Account of the Organisation, Administration, and Present State of the Military Colonies in Russia." 1824.

"A statement in the Russian papers has been read with some surprise, that the Emperor Alexander, to reward the bravery which several officers have shown in the actions that have taken place with the Nomad tribes beyond the Cuban and Daghistan, has granted them various honourable distinctions. This is the first time that this war has been heard of in Europe, which seems to have been kept a profound secret. However this be, the cabinet of St. Petersburg must have considered the event as of some importance; since, besides the insignia of different orders which have been given away, swords and sabres mounted with gold have been given, bearing the inscription, 'To Valour.' The sword which General Weljaminef III. received, was enriched with diamonds. These marks of honour, which are bestowed only on extraordinary occasions, are not conferred by the chapters of the Russian orders, but immediately by the emperor."

The Caucasian and Georgian army has been variously estimated. In the first number of the *Westminster Review*, it is stated as low as 60,000, and by the translator of "Letters from the Caucasus," in a note, p. 64, as high as 130,000 men. During our travels, I had various conversations on this point with different officers, some of whom estimated it at only 60,000, while others assured me that it amounted to above 100,000 soldiers. Perhaps the medium number of 80,000

would be near the reality, and of that number above 50,000 are in Georgia; hence the importance of the other European powers giving serious attention to this quarter of the globe, especially after the open display of the ambition which Russia has made to encroach upon Persia, as in 1812, when she added the *khanats* of Talishin and Karabagh to her territories. As will be seen by a very important document in the next chapter, Russia holds Persia very low in the scale of nations, and is persuaded, that, by a single effort, Tabreez, and probably the whole kingdom, would fall into her power.

Nothing is more evident than the plans of ambition which Russia is calmly and steadfastly pursuing in her southern provinces. Sir R. K. Porter tells us, that she now commands the whole of the north, and the greater part of the western shore of the Caspian. The disadvantage she formerly laboured under, of having no means of introducing her articles of trade, received from China and western Tartary, by any nearer route to the south-western markets of her own empire than *via* Astrachan and Moscow, is now removed, by the judicious and cunning management of the governor-general of Georgia, who, three years ago, entered into a treaty of mutual accommodation with the chiefs of the Turcoman tribes possessing the eastern shores of the Caspian, and whose territories and influence extend to both Bucharias. "As a preliminary to

these, and many other important consequences, Russia was a considerable gainer in extension of territory to the south, by the articles of peace signed in 1813, which gave her the command of several entrances into the kingdom of Persia, on its northern frontier; and, in the event of a struggle for the crown, would enable her 'to take the gate,' and decide the conquest according to her own judgment." *

By two public letters, it is evident that Russia is doing every thing to increase her popularity and connections in the East. I shall quote them both *verbatim*:—

"*St. Petersburgh, June* 23, 1824.

"His Majesty has recompensed the seven Sultans of the Kirghis tribes, who are here as deputies, for their attachment and fidelity to the Russian government, by giving them gold medals and gilt swords, and conferring on them the eighth rank of nobility."

"*St. Petersburgh, July* 7, 1824.

"The seven Sultans, or the Khans of the Kirghis, who have been here as deputies since the month of November, set out yesterday on their return home, accompanied by the officers appointed to attend them, by the Governor-general of West

* Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. p. 511.

Siberia. During their stay here they resided in a house belonging to the government, and were maintained at its expence. On the 1st of the month they had an audience of Count Nesselrode, Minister of Foreign Affairs, when they received their new code of laws, drawn up in the Russian and Kirghisian languages, which lays down the basis of their future relations to the Russian empire, as a Nomad tribe, tributary to it, and under its protection."

By the public press, we also remark, that his Imperial Majesty has just been received by the Kalmucks in their *kibitkas* *, and seems to wish to possess their confidence.

From all I have read, heard, and seen of General Yermólof's plans, of course sanctioned by his government, I should suppose that his great objects are, 1st, To have a very powerful and hardy army in the Caucasus and Georgia, to be employed according to circumstances; 2d, To diminish, by all possible means, the power of the inhabitants of the mountains; 3d, To extend, in the mean time, the dominions of Georgia by encroachments upon Persia; 4th, To take advantage of a favourable opportunity to attempt the conquest of Persia. These views will be illustrated in the following chapters. It is merely necessary to remark here, that beyond

* Vide p. 488 of Vol. I.

all question, General Yermólof's measures appear most determined. No doubt Russia expects, that on the death of the present Shach of Persia, there will be a violent and bloody dispute for the crown. We are told by the latest British author, who has been in Persia, that the present heir apparent to this old sceptre of misrule, Abbas Mirza, is fully aware of its defects; and, should he ever sway it, will render the stubborn iron, softened under the father's hand, more malleable in his own. In that case, the benign dispositions, integrity of mind, and happy talents for empire, with which heaven has marked out this extraordinary Asiatic prince, are likely to be assisted by the gradual importation of just European principles, brought by the continual influx, and passing to and fro of the natives of British, Russian, and other Christian governments in this country, all of whom unconsciously prepare the people of Persia, with whom they mingle, to understand the value of equitable laws, and of a sovereign likely to establish them. *

Sir R. K. Porter, after alluding to some improvements made by Abbas Mirza, adds, "The Schah, whose natural dispositions are not less urbane than his son's, approves of whatever he does; and, having pronounced him his heir, contemplates, with a noble complacency, rare in almost any monarch,

* Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. &c. By Sir R. K. Porter, vol. ii. p. 906.

the hand of his successor sowing the seeds of future power and greatness. But between the death of one Persian monarch, and the accession of another, there is generally so much competition, such civil war, bloodshed, and assassination, that it is possible the demise of Futteh Ali Schah, instead of continuing a happy tranquillity, may again throw open the temple of Janus; Mahmoud Ali Mirza having threatened to dispute the throne with his brother; and, in that case, the issue being doubtful, the now emerging civilisation of the people may again be cast back into all the barbarism of long civil broils." *

Yet some fear those hopes of the prosperous results of Abbas Mirza's ascending the throne are visionary, and that the Shach, by an act of intended parental munificence, has unwittingly "sown the teeth of the Hydra," in having established so many of his royal progeny in different parts of the empire, with each his separate court, treasury, and army. Others, again, do not apprehend annoyance to the heir from any of those princes, excepting him, who, from the first, cast down his gauntlet. The list of their governments is variously stated by Colonel Johnson, Sir R. K. Porter, and an anonymous writer in *Blackwood's Magazine* for last August.

* Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. &c. By Sir R. K. Porter, vol. ii. p. 507.

I shall here copy Sir R. K. Porter's list, and also give it as corrected by the anonymous writer:

Mahmoud Ali Mirza,	Governor of Kermanshah.
Abbas Mirza - - -	- Azerbijan.
Abdoolah Mirza - - -	- Zenjan.
Houssein Ali Mirza - -	- Shiraz.
Ali Nackee Mirza - - -	- Casvin.
Hassan Ali Mirza - - -	- Ghilan.
Mahmoud Kouli Mirza - -	- Khorasan.
Mahmoud Tuckeh Mirza -	- Boorojird.
Ali Shah Mirza - - -	- Tehèran.
Sheik Ali Mirza - - -	- Chumeen.

Corrected List.

Mahommed Allee Meerza,	Governor of Kermanshah.
Abbas Meerza - - -	- Azerbyjan.
Abdoolah Meerza - - -	- Zenjan.
Hoossein Allee Meerza - -	- Sheeraz.
Allee Nakee Meerza - -	- Casvin.
Hassan Allee Meerza - -	- Khorassan.
Mahommed Koolee Meerza -	- Mazanderan.
Mahommed Tukeh Meerza -	- Boorojird.
Allee Shah Meerza - -	- Teheran.
Sheik Allee Meerza - -	- Chumeen.

Besides these sons, deemed of sufficient age to sustain such high civil authorities, his majesty has many younger, numbering in all thirty-nine. His daughters amount to one hundred and forty.

Russia, with her usual concealed and crafty policy, no doubt, will await the death of the Shach, when the contest between his heir apparent, Abbas Mirza, and the oldest son Mahomed Ali, is likely to be violent, bloody, and protracted. Besides

these two, others of the Shach's sons may make pretensions to the whole, or to a part, of the Persian kingdom. Russia will act here, as she did formerly with respect to the Krimea and Georgia. She will foment all disagreement, and most likely support the weak against the strong for a time, or take part with the most potent, on condition of becoming the cunning protector of Persia, a sure forerunner of a harder grasp at total possession.

Once in possession of Persia, her next plans of mad ambition would extend to India, as well as to Turkey. As for the latter country, it seems likely that a new power will soon be in a state to become its conqueror and its protector, and a Greek Emperor may yet have his residence within the walls of ancient Byzantium.

With respect to the invasion of India, some individuals have been of opinion that it would be a very simple process, either for France, in conjunction with Persia, or for Russia alone to accomplish.

We are told by Sir Robert Wilson, that "ten thousand Kozáks, during Paul's reign, were ordered to join the army destined for the invasion of India. They were actually on the march to the frontiers, when that monarch ceased to exist. Amongst the Kozáks there was no dislike to a service from which they know Thomas Kouli Khan returned with a spoil of nearly sixty millions sterling, and which has been described, with truth, rather as a party of pleasure than an expedition of war; nor could they

dread a want of sustenance through a country where 1,000,000 camels may be procured for forty shillings a-head; 100lbs. of wheat for fifteen pence; as much salt for two-pence; an ox, from 600 cwt. to 800 cwt. for twenty shillings; and a sheep of 200lbs. for four shillings; but they dreaded those bad arrangements which impede Russian success, and which, more than the forces of Persia, have hitherto resisted their Asiatic progress." *

It is reported to have been a part of Buonaparte's own plans to take possession of India; and, if we can give credit to the following quotations, he thought it would be no difficult affair for Russia to become its conqueror.

Buonaparte says, "I was beforehand with England, in sending an ambassador to Persia to make interest there. Since that time, your ministers have been *imbéciles* enough to allow the Russians to get four provinces, which increase their territories beyond the mountains. The first year of war that you will have with the Russians, they will take India from you." † —"In the evening the Emperor again resumed his geographical observations. He dwelt particularly on Asia, on the situation of Russia, and the facility with which the latter power might make an attempt on India, or even on China, and the alarm which she might, therefore, justly excite in

* Character and Composition of the Russian army, &c. p. 34-5.

† O'Meara's Napoleon in Exile, vol. i. p. 381.

the English. He calculated the number of troops that Russia might employ, their probable point of departure, the route they would be likely to pursue, and the wealth they would obtain in such an enterprise." *

It has been urged in opposition to the foregoing opinions, that though a small and well disciplined army might obtain military possession of Persia, it would not be so easy to retain it for any length of time; that their magazines could not be replenished; that the natives, of whom one half have no fixed habitations, would withdraw to a distance from the military positions of the enemy, and that his foraging parties would be invariably swept off by the clouds of irregular cavalry, who live chiefly by plunder, and who are more formidable when broken and dispersed into small parties, than when united in large bodies; that the strong holds of Persia, which he would necessarily seize, are the provinces of Ghilan and Mazanderaun, which are the most unhealthy; and it has been concluded there is no doubt that, in the course of twelve months, sickness, famine, and the sword, would destroy any army that France or Russia could send into Persia.

But, supposing Persia to be favourable to the views of the enemy, and even to assist in the invasion of India, it would be necessary, in the first place, to obtain possession of all Khorassan, and

* Memorial de Sainte Héléne, vol. iv. part 7. p. 86.

to open a passage to Herat. This is the route that Alexander took, and the only route, indeed, by which an army could have the least chance of entering India, The Great Salt Desert, the marshes, and rugged mountains of Cohestan, the arid and naked plains of Kirman, the moving sands of Mekran, and all the mountains and dreary wastes on each side of the Indus, and as far to the eastward of it as Agimere, render any attempt to march an army through the central provinces of Persia towards the lower part of the Indus utterly impracticable. The return of Alexander from Patula, the modern Tatta, near the mouth of the Indus, to Persepolis, was sufficiently wonderful, but by skirting the coast of Mekran, he avoided the more extensive sandy plains and deserts of the interior. Yet we are told by Plutarch, that his army suffered dreadfully; "violent distempers, bad diet, and excessive heats, destroyed multitudes; but famine made still greater ravages, for it was a barren and uncultivated country; the natives lived miserably, having nothing to subsist on but a few bad sheep, which feed on the fish thrown up by the sea." To say nothing of the distance between Tehraun and Delhi, which exceeds 2000 miles; of the mountains, ravines, unfordable rivers, impenetrable forests, the uncultivated state of the country, the sandy plains, salt lakes, and marshes, unwholesome winds which blow in places for several months in the year, and the scarcity of water on almost the whole line of this march; to say

nothing of the roving tribes which infest every part of the country through which it would be necessary to pass, — there are several very powerful nations, as the Usbeck Tartars, the Turcomans, the Patans, and, above all, the Affghans and the Seiks, all of which must either be conquered or conciliated — the first of which is not to be expected, the second not to be depended on. For such expeditions Persia is not in a state to engage. She has no magazines, no treasures to support her own armies, far less a foreign corps, which the chiefs of every wandering tribe would be more ready to plunder than to assist. In short, so numerous are the obstacles, that I deem it a delusion to speak of the invasion of India by any foreign power, and more so now than ever, when the system of government in that country is so well organised as to render it completely independent of the native princes, and all their attacks, and to have a considerable army of natives devoted to its cause. *

Some seem to entertain apprehensions from the plans of Persia. A periodical writer, before alluding to the predominance of French influence a few years ago at the court of this country; our embassies to counteract it; our *necessary* support of the Turks; the better organisation and discipline of the native forces under English officers, and formerly other foreigners; the establishment of an

* Quarterly Review, vol. ix. p. 57.

arsenal by Mr. Armstrong (who however left Persia in disgust above two years ago) where brass cannon are cast, shot made, gun-carriages built, and all the apparatus of field and battering artillery completed from their own resources; the impolicy of the English government in not sending an ambassador appointed by the crown, and the rejection of one who set out from Bombay by appointment of the East India Company, makes these remarks:

"From one of our correspondents we learn that the present Burmese monarch has been recently in Persia; at the court of which country he was well received, and lived on terms of the most friendly intimacy with the Persian king and his ministers. It is confidently said, and generally believed in India, that the aggressions which led to the present war, were but the first step of a concerted plan between the Persians, the Russians, the Nepaulese, and the Burmese, first suggested and matured at the Persian court, for the purpose of drawing off all our strength towards the south-eastern frontier, draining the north-western part of India of our best troops, and making an entry into that part of the British dominions the more easy."*

A lady, who seems to have a masculine understanding, and whom I have often quoted with pleasure, thinks that the slightest hint of projects

* Oriental Herald for November 1824.

entertained by any foreign power in the direction of our Eastern possessions, is sufficient to excite the jealous feeling of this country. We have various accounts, derived from authentic sources, which decisively prove the joint designs of Buonaparte and his Russian allies against our interests in India: yet the views of those governments, either whilst acting together or independently, have hitherto been thwarted by various circumstances. Among the most important of these should be reckoned our defeat of Tippoo Saib, and the check given by his fall to the intrigues which France had long carried on in that quarter of the world: then the discomfiture of that army which was sent by the Directory to Egypt, and which was stated by Buonaparte to be on the high road to India. To this succeeded the death of the Emperor Paul, who, after he became the ally of France, seems to have entered seriously into the scheme of attacking us in the East; and, finally, the mission of Sir Harford Jones from this country to the court of Persia, by which the plans of Buonaparte, in despatching General Gardanne thither (as he did in 1807), were completely frustrated.

Now, however, although it is not probable that we shall be for some time called upon to contend with any but our *sworn friends*, for the wealth of India, the dangers against which we have guarded

so long, are not diminished by the change in the quarter from whence they may be expected.

Mr. Leckie, who seems to have given this subject more consideration than any other political writer, during some of the most momentous years in the late war (1807, 8, 9, & 10), does not appear to have entertained any serious apprehension on account of the designs of France against our possessions in India; (although, when he wrote, her extensive schemes of policy were woven with the subtlest craft, and her imperial legions led by the spirit of Buonaparte;) if their track were laid through any routes that might be chosen by the way of Turkey and Asia Minor, by that of Syria, or by the eastern shores of the Caspian: the passage of any foes by sea, he, very properly at that time, deemed impracticable. He also considered the march of a Russian army to India, by the route of Bokhara (Boucharia), as impossible, in the actual state of the countries east of the Caspian; yet, he does not deny that, if the Russian government were allowed time to establish military posts along the Oxus, and to secure the friendship of the Tartar chiefs, we might have cause to fear the success of projects thus cautiously concerted. But neither does this writer, nor any other, seem, at that time, to have anticipated the probability of an European army passing through

the Albanian gates and the *Via Caspia.** At present, there is ample field for speculation, upon the attitude that a Russian army (said to be at this moment 130,000† strong) has shown in its cantonments on the Cyrus (Koor) and Araxes; and the whole of western Europe is more than ever alive to the unceasing yet steady spirit of Russian aggrandisement. Georgia, doubtless, is the proper *point d'appui* for any Russian movement against

* The *Pylæ Albaniæ*, and the *Via Caspia*, are two names for the same pass, that of Derbent. Vide p. 463. Vol. I.

† This estimate of the army of Georgia, made by the intelligent translator of "Letters from the Caucasus," is beyond all doubt extravagant, vide p. 54. of this volume. Russia never had, nor has at this moment, the half of that number of troops cantoned on the Cyrus and the Araxes. By the calculation I have given, in the page just referred to, the Caucaso-Georgian army of Russia only amounts to 80,000; and I think it quite certain, that 50,000 is the utmost total of Russian soldiers now in Georgia. But it must ever be borne in mind, that not more than half of this army is *disposable* for any plans of aggrandisement; the other half being absolutely necessary for the protection of so extensive and so unquiet a frontier, as that of both sides of the Caucasus, against the attacks of the mountaineers. It is not the present condition of Russia which ought to excite either great jealousy or alarm. We must look to her plans as a whole, and not in detail. We must think of the annual augmentation of her already formidable army, in a time of peace, of the improvement she is making in military tactics, of her great political connections and strength, of the facility with which she could cause 200,000 or 300,000 soldiers to pass the defiles of the Caucasus, and of the general system of organisation pursued by General Yermólof.

Persia and India; the tsar, however, is already curbed in his covert projects, both in the West and East, by the mighty power of public opinion: besides, he would not, as did the ancient Alexander, and as Napoleon, in his march to Moscow, (who alone may be compared with the Macedonian conqueror,) leave only Satraps behind him.

These are among the best guarantees for the safety of the Shach, and the integrity, at least from *external* assaults, of our Eastern possessions.

Nevertheless, nothing is left untried by the Russian cabinet to secure all the approaches to central Asia; whilst they study to cultivate the best understanding with the Persian court, where their influence seems to have lately increased, in the same proportion that our own has been on the wane.*

Those who entertain the smallest fear of Russia, of any other power of Europe, or even of Asia, being able to invade India, should read the "Summary of the Administration of the Indian Government," lately published by the Marquis of Hastings, during the period that he filled the office of Governor-General.† If Russia were even in

* Letters from the Caucasus and Georgia, 1823; and Note by the Translator, p. 63.

† This was written before the Burmese war began; and, therefore, I have not altered the text: supposing that power will not be able to maintain a contest of long duration.

possession of Persia, in my opinion, she could only think of such a plan, in order to find a sepulchre for her troops. If she employed Russians alone, three-fourths of them would be in their graves before reaching India, and the remainder diseased and unfit to fight. The warm climate would sweep them off by thousands and tens of thousands, and their bones would bleach in the deserts of India, as did those of the French in Russia in 1812. Should she wish to employ Persians along with Russians, their number would be totally inadequate for the purpose of attack, and still less of conquest.

Let us now say a few words respecting the politics of Russia, with regard to the empire of the Turks. Buonaparte says, all Alexander's "thoughts are directed to the conquest of Turkey. We have had many discussions about it; at first I was pleased with his proposals, because I thought it would enlighten the world to drive those brutes, the Turks, out of Europe. But, when I reflected upon the consequences, and saw what a tremendous weight of power it would give to Russia, in consequence of the number of Greeks in the Turkish dominions, who would naturally join the Russians, I refused to consent to it, especially as Alexander wanted to get Constantinople, which I would not allow, as it would have destroyed the equilibrium of power in Europe. I reflected that France would gain Egypt, Syria, and the islands, which would have

been nothing in comparison with what Russia would have obtained. I considered that the barbarians of the north were already too powerful, and probably in the course of time would overwhelm all Europe, as I now think they will. Austria already trembles; Russia and Persia united, Austria falls, and England cannot prevent it. France, under the present family, is nothing; and the Austrians are so *lâches*, that they will be easily overpowered. *Una nazione a colpo di bastone.** They will offer little resistance to the Russians, who are brave and potent. Russia is the more formidable, because she can never disarm. In Russia, once a soldier always a soldier. Barbarians who, one may say, have no country, and to whom every country is better than the one which gave them birth." The ex-emperor then says, "his memory will be revered in consequence of his having foreseen and endeavoured to put a stop to that which will yet take place. It will be revered when the barbarians of the north possess Europe."†

On the subject of an attack upon Turkey, I have merely to state, that no other measure would be so popular among the military, the nobles, and the peasantry of Russia. It is well known that Constantine, the Great Duke of Russia, and almost the Vice-Roi of Poland,—so frequently accused of

* Means a nation that may be ruled by blows.

† O'Meara's Napoleon in Exile, vol. i. p. 382-3.

illiberality, cruelty, and barbarism, — was thus named, because it was expected that he would reign at Constantinople. God forbid it! Those who have lately been in Poland, or who know the history of that prince, will hold him in detestation. One of his deeds of blacker dye than human is already recorded, and must condemn him in the eyes of the virtuous. It was, as the writer most truly says, a case of the *ne plus ultra* of debauchery and despicable barbarism, which, had I not heard it repeated by those in whom I have confidence, I should have hesitated to believe upon the anonymous authority of an *English Merchant*, who has given the particulars among other Sketches of Russia, written during sixteen years' residence.* But let us hasten from such a horrid deed, by which, it is said, a virtuous lady fell a victim. May the emblem of Paul remember the fate of his extraordinary and unfortunate father, and reform!

I have formerly alluded to the death of the tsar Heraclius, and to that of his successor to the throne, George; and, it may not be misplaced here to inform the reader of the manner in which the royal family of Georgia were disposed of when the crown was yielded to Russia. Eight years ago, when Mr. James was at Petersburgh, he attended an annual festival at the Imperial winter palace, and he remarks, in his journal, that the mention of a

* Vide Monthly Magazine, No. 395, for May 1, 1824. p. 296.

certain royal family that swelled the train of the Empress Dowager, may perhaps have created the surprise of some of his readers; and that he himself, indeed, felt no small astonishment at their first appearance. "Independent of the interest," says he, "attached to their situation, it was impossible not to notice them from their singularity of air and mien. The princes were handsome men; but the princesses, though not young, displayed features of unparalleled beauty; they were dressed with small coifs upon their heads, from which a long white veil, open in front, descended to their feet, lending, by its novel fashion, a new grace to the elegance of their persons." Unable to withstand, at once, the attacks of his domestic, as well as foreign, enemies, and especially the intrigues of Russia, the tsar George Heracliévitch surrendered his kingdom to Paul, the Emperor of Russia, and handsome appointments at Petersburgh were, by stipulation, to be provided in return; and, in the year 1801, his whole family arrived at Moscow. But it was reserved for the Emperor Alexander to fulfil the contract, which was done as soon as the confused state of things, at the death of the late Emperor, would allow.

Thus the royal family, except one son, became dependent, and still continue dependent, on Russia; and, I believe, one or two of the princes hold high ranks in the Imperial army.

Sir R. K. Porter, in describing the *fête* of the

Nowrooze, at Tabreez, informs us, that one object of particular interest was the presence of Alexander Mirza, the fourth son of Heraclius, the late tsar of Georgia, whose bold independence of spirit still resists all terms of amity with Russia, not only having rejected every Imperial honour offered to him, but openly declaring himself irreconcilably hostile to that power's possession of his native country. When Georgia was ceded, he withdrew to Daghistan, and from thence took refuge among the Lesghees, a nation of banditti, who inhabit Leghistan, who sell their service to any body, and take different sides, so that a native sometimes falls by the sword of his brother. When Alexander left the Lesghees, with the greatest difficulty, bravery, and address, he made his way from the fastnesses of their inaccessible country; and, when his road lay by any defended post, he literally opened a path with his sword through Shirvan, till he reached the Persian frontier, and threw himself on the generous faith of Abbas Mirza. "It was impossible," says Sir R. K. Porter, "*to look on this intrepid prince, however wild and obdurate,* without interest; without that sort of pity and admiration with which a man might view the royal lion hunted from his hereditary waste, yet still returning to hover near, and roar in proud loneliness his ceaseless threatenings to the human strangers who had disturbed his reign."

Of course, Prince Alexander remains under the

protection of Persia, and is ready to join in any plan which might seem to give the smallest hope of Georgia recovering her former rank, and of his becoming her sovereign, as he never yielded his right or title, when she was abandoned by the rest of his family. Neither Russian craft, nor flattery, nor promise, nor policy, has as yet been able to decoy this prince into the snare, and the Georgians preserve and show his portrait with exultation.

CHAP. XV.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF GENERAL YERMÓLOF.—HIS ADMINISTRATION OF GEORGIA.—HIS CONDUCT TO THE CAUCASIANS.—THE JOURNAL OF HIS EMBASSY TO PERSIA.—ITS PREFACE.—MR. FREYGANCH'S MISSION TO PERSIA.—RUSSIAN POLICY.—ABOOL HASSAN KHAN.—HIS OPINION OF THE RUSSIANS.—PRESENTS TO THE EMPEROR.—DEPARTURE OF GENERAL YERMÓLOF FROM TIFLÍS.—ADVANCE TO SHIRPILOU.—GEORGIAN VILLAGES.—TALIN.—THE SERDAR OF ERIVAN.—EITCHMEADZIN.—ERIVAN.—NAHITCHIVAN.—GENERAL YERMÓLOF'S REVERIES.—ENTRANCE INTO TABREEZ.—COURT CEREMONIES.—EXTRAORDINARY RECEPTION OF THE RUSSIAN EMBASSY.—REVIEW OF PERSIAN TROOPS.—VISIT TO ABBAS MIRZA.—COURT DECEPTION.—GENERAL YERMÓLOF'S SELF-IMPORTANCE.—CHARACTER OF MIRZA BEZOORK.—ABBAS MIRZA.—PERSIAN GOVERNMENT.—UDJANÍ.—THE KYME-MAKAUM'S SON.—COLONEL JOHNSON.—ANECDOTE.—AVANLOOG.—POISONOUS BUGS OF MIANA.—BRIDGES.—REMARKS

ON PERSIA. — NIKPÉ. — SAMANARCHIÉ. — MIRZA ABDOOL WEHAB. — DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE MINISTER AND GENERAL YERMÓLOF.

THE high military character, the important situation, and the political conduct of General Yermólof, as well as the share which he is likely to have in future events on the south of the Caucasus, all conspire to render his biography interesting to the public. I can only pretend, however, to allude to a few of the principal events of his life in this volume.

Alexei Petróvitch Yermólof is descended from a respectable family, who are supposed to be of Tartar origin, and who trace their genealogy to the line of the famous Tchingis Khan. He received a moderately good education, or, at least, what is called so in Russia, and as is the case with all the aspirants after rank and fame in the autocratic empire, he entered the army at an early age, and rose, by length of service and merit, to the eminent rank which he now holds. In the battle of Eylau, though he had but the title of colonel, he received his share of glory.* It was in the campaign of 1812, however, that he chiefly distinguished himself. In the sanguinary and memorable battle of Borodíno he fought like a hero, and especially, when along with General Kutúsof, he supported the division of Paskevits, at the time

* Jisn i Podvighi Grapha Platova, part i. p. 74.

it was nearly discomfited by that of the French under Morand, and the result proved very advantageous. In this battle, he received an honourable wound, and fell, but not for ever, covered with glory *; or at least by what is called glory by military men, as well as by the world in general, but respecting which some entertain a different opinion. †

With Bennigsen, Barclay de Tolli, Osterman, Konovnítsin, and Toll, Yermólof formed the council of war which was assembled by order of Prince Kutúsof, in order to determine the important question, whether Moscow should be defended or deserted after the retreat of the Russian army from Borodíno to its vicinity; the particulars of which, the reader will find when we arrive at that capital.

The distinguished Russian poet Jukóvskii, who accompanied the army from Moscow, in his well known and celebrated poem, "*The Minstrel in*

* Histoire Militaire de la Campagne de Russie, en 1812, par le Colonel Boutourlin, aide-de-camp de S. M. l'Empereur de Russie, p. 331—2, and p. 349. Paris, 1824.

† "I have done violence to my feelings," says Bowring, "by translating many of the military and warlike productions of the Russian poets, but they will not be without their use. They will serve to show how the feelings of hatred and malevolence are excited, how that *love of outrage* which is called '*martial spirit*,' creeps into the bosom of a people, and corrodes all the mild and all the generous virtues." Vide Introduction to the second part of "*Specimens of the Russian Poets*," p. xi.

the Russian Camp," which was written just before the battle of Tarútino, thus addresses General Yermólof:

> " Hail! hail! ye martial leaders all!
> Yermólof, valiant Roman!
> Friend of the brave, and valour's wall,
> And terror of the foeman." *

I have recorded the following anecdote of our hero, which greatly redounds to his honour. " A General, who commanded a corps of artillery stationed at the Imperial head-quarters, had incurred, on some trifling occasion, the serious displeasure of the Emperor Alexander, shortly before the battle of Leipzig. His Majesty very unceremoniously sent one of his aides-de-camp with an order, that this officer should give up his command, repair, within twenty-four hours, to a village at the distance of twenty or thirty miles, and take charge of a regiment stationed there. Surprise, indignation, and fury were successively evinced by the General, but still he obeyed the mandate. He left head-quarters without even a moment's loss of time, — arrived at his new destination, — examined it, — reviewed the regiment, — and immediately drove back to his former station. At a review of some troops, on the following morning, the Emperor's eye soon perceived him at the head of his

* Vide the original, or Bowring's translation in " *Specimens of the Russian Poets,*" part ii. p. 69.

corps. Astonishment and rage were depicted in the monarch's physiognomy, and he despatched an aid-de-camp to enquire, what the General was doing there, — and why he had left his new station, and dared to disobey his sovereign's order. The General, who is a man of talents, of general information, and of an unconquerable and somewhat ferocious spirit, with energy replied to the aid-de-camp, 'Go back, and tell his Imperial Majesty, that the present time is highly important, and that I feel anxious for the fate of Russia: tell him, that henceforth, I serve, not Alexander, but my country; and that I am here, where I ought to be, at the head of my troops, ready to sacrifice my life in her cause.' Such an uncontemplated and heroic answer, instead of rousing the furious passions of the mind, as might have been expected, were despotism really absolute, had a very opposite effect. The Emperor seemed palsied, replied not a word, and was glad to hush the affair to sleep, lest the General's example should be too generally known, and become a precedent for the future, to the officers of the autocratic army. Before the battle of Mont Martre, the General, who continued in his former command, had a station assigned him, in the middle of danger, on purpose, as it was supposed by some, that his head might be carried away by a cannon-ball, and thus rid the Emperor of a refractory and liberal-minded officer. This gentleman, who fears no danger, rejoiced at

the occasion, fought bravely, and conquered. It redounds to the credit of Alexander, that he called for the General on the field of battle, and bestowed upon him the cordon of St. George. Since this period he has been employed on an important mission; and at this moment, he holds one of the highest and most responsible offices of the state."

In 1817, for reasons which are soon to be detailed, General Yermólof was appointed governor-general of Georgia, and ambassador to the court of Persia.

Mr. Smirnoi, author of the "*Life and Combats of Platóf,*" speaks of Yermólof's administration with his usual complacency and flattery toward his countrymen. "The inhabitants," says he, "of Georgia and other neighbouring governments over which he is placed, prosperous under his wise and vigilant rule, are grateful to the monarch who gave them so worthy a chief." *

I have repeatedly had occasion to allude to the general character of General Yermólof in the course of this work, and though I must disapprove of some of his measures, there seems to be no doubt, that he is a person of great natural and acquired talents, a brave and energetic soldier, and a most active, enterprising, and able governor-general. This is high praise, but his too zealous anticipation of the ambitious schemes of the crown

* "Jisn i Podvighi" of Count Platóf, part i. p. 74. Note.

of Russia, his rigorous policy toward the mountaineers, and his cruelty on some occasions already mentioned *, greatly detract from it. May he take warning for the future, and be assured, that good government is always tempered with mercy, and that the epithet of *the humane* ought to be dearer to the bosom of the good than that of *the brave!*

My love of impartiality demands that I should state, that both Colonel Johnson and Sir R. K. Porter have spoken of General Yermólof in very high terms; and that I have heard some other travellers, who have experienced his hospitality, speak of him with great admiration. Porter alludes to his services offered with the open and kindly heart, "the disposition that receives a countryman like a friend, and a stranger like a countryman." And he adds, "being liberal in his views, no one can be better adapted to the high station he holds in this country. His graciousness secures to him gratitude and confidence from persons of all nations, to whom he is kind and serviceable. He is, in every respect, what the representative of a great empire ought to be; and, by perfectly understanding the people he is delegated to govern, their natural dispositions, and the contrary habits they have acquired under con-

* Vide p. 49. of this volume.

tradictory oppressions, he manages both with a greatness of aim, *a gentleness in the means* *, and, at the same time, so unswerving a steadiness, that the proud and gloomy Georgians are daily becoming more sensible to the advantage of their own laws being exercised by such a foreign hand. It is natural that the mind should linger after old associations; should, in remembering times of past distinction under brave and generous princes, be reluctant to part with any existing memorial of such national consequence, be it no more than a name! But the Georgians, for several generations preceding their union with Russia, had, in retaining this name — that of an independent kingdom, — been actually suffering the utmost miseries of subjugation, from the feebleness of their native rulers, and the terrible evils which poured into their undefended country from the Mahometan powers, and the barbarous hordes of the mountains. In becoming part of Russia, the doors were shut against these oppressors, and the rescued people soon found the substantial superiority of living in prosperity and peace, under the name, and with the rights, of a province attached to so great an empire, to all the vain glories of being called a kingdom; — to the shade, rather than the substance of majesty, seated in the throne of their past monarchs, while real tyrants, in the shapes of

* Compare p. 49, and 50. of this volume.

Lesghees and other invaders, ravaged the country, and usurped the authorities of the state."*

Though I differ in some respects from Sir R. K. Porter, yet his observations on this topic are generally correct. If I am less pleased with a few points of General Yermólof's administration, I expose them, not from enmity, but because I regard them as the failings of a great man, which might be amended.

It is now a considerable time since I announced the publication of a manuscript, "*The Journal of General Yermólof's Embassy to Persia, in the Year* 1817." † Two reasons have led me to keep back this precious document from the public, beyond the intended period; viz. 1st, the wish that the individual who was instrumental in procuring the copy of that journal, which I now possess, should previously be beyond the frontiers of Russian, and even of Continental despotism; and, 2d, the delicacy I felt, as to the propriety of publishing the MS. without the consent of its author.

I hope that I have only to assign my reasons for its present publicity, in order to show that I am fully warranted in my conduct. In the first place then, General Yermólof's journal could scarcely be called *private*, since he allowed some copies to be taken by his friends, from which numerous

* Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. vol. i. p. 154.

† Vide Courier and Morning Chronicle, for Jan. 17th, 1824.

others have been made by the officers of the army, and their agents; so that the MS. is not at all rare in the Russian dominions, and is, to a certain extent, already made public: secondly, many parts of that MS. have already been published by Kotzebue, who was one of the individuals in the train of the ambassador, in his "*Voyage en Perse:*" thirdly, I knew too well, that had I asked permission to publish the journal, from its author, it would not have been granted, however much pleased, perhaps, he may be that it is done without his consent; but he must show the highest displeasure and indignation at my procedure, in order to please the Russian government: fourthly, its details should be known to Europe, and especially to my countrymen, as they illustrate the politics of Russia, and give some fore-knowledge of the ambitious plans of that country in the north of Asia; at the same time that they show in what estimation the British are held by some of their present allies.

I shall now proceed with a *translation and abridgment* of the journal in question. The more important points shall be generally given in the author's own words, while those of little consequence shall be comprised in as few lines as possible. In order to render this part of my work more interesting, however, I shall occasionally introduce remarks from Kotzebue, Porter, and Letters from the Caucasus and Georgia, as well as

from my own portfolio; trusting, that thus a number of facts may be assembled together which may throw some light on the measures of aggrandisement which Russia has in view, and may lead to the adoption of means, by other states, to counteract them. *

I shall translate General Yermólof's preface nearly verbatim.

"The peace concluded with Persia, at the end of the year 1813, put a conclusion to a continued war, which, although it was not dangerous to Russia, yet might have had disagreeable consequences during the invasion of our country by the enemy †, and their occupation of Moscow; especially if accompanied, at a future period, by any internal commotion in Georgia. The happy revolution of our affairs, the expulsion of the enemy from the frontiers of Russia, their dreadful defeat, and the triumphal march of our forces to the centre of Germany, led the Persians to think, that for their tranquillity it was necessary to seek peace with Russia, rather than to indulge the vain hope of gaining it by force of arms. Persia, after having renounced her rights to some provinces which were joined to ours by conquest as well as by written documents, sent an ambassador extraordinary to Peters-

* Those who are more anxious about a knowledge of Persia, may consult the works of Morier, Malcolm, Ousely, &c., not forgetting Chardin.

† The French, in 1812.

burgh, so as, by petitions and persuasions, to induce the generous *Gosudár*, the Emperor, to consent to the restitution of these provinces. This ambassador arrived during the absence of His Imperial Majesty, who, at the head of his armies beyond the frontiers of Russia, was occupied with the pacification of Europe, who called confusion to order, and who liberated the oppressed from the yoke of Napoleon. After the arrival of the emperor at Petersburgh, the Persian ambassador presented the petition of the Shach, and received in answer, that through reciprocity of friendship, I should be sent as ambassador to his Persian Majesty, confidentially charged to communicate the opinions of the Emperor upon the subject in question. It was also notified to him, how agreeable it would be to His Imperial Majesty, in all things, to meet the wishes of the Shach. The ambassador departed from Petersburgh, and I soon afterwards followed him. I made a short delay in Georgia, and examined some parts of the frontiers, that it might be known whether it was possible to restore them, in case it should happen that the Persians demanded their exchange."

It may be here remarked, that in the year 1812, Russia was peculiarly anxious to be at peace both with Turkey and Persia; and this object, no doubt, was accomplished by the assistance of the British government, through our ambassadors at the courts of those states. Mr. Freyganch was sent by Russia

on a special mission to the court of Abbas Mirza, to conclude a peace; and at that time, this gentleman informs us, that Sir Gore Ousely, who had also arrived from India, at the same destination, was very desirous to further the object of his mission; "But," says he, "Abbaz Mirza being well aware of the French having invaded Russia, felt encouraged by that circumstance to reject every proposition for peace with my government. He was, indeed, decided upon attempting another expedition into Georgia, with hopes of thereby obtaining a more advantageous peace; and, above all, of acquiring that military glory, of which he is so ambitious. I saw clearly enough that he placed great confidence in his own genius and bravery, as well as in the courage of his sarbazes." — "When Abbas Mirza was completely defeated by the Russian general Kotleréffsky, he must have regretted that he had not concluded a treaty upon the terms proposed through myself, and which he was afterwards obliged to accept."*

From what I have heard, from a political source, I should suppose that the persuasions of Sir Gore Ousely, in consequence of his instructions, were more powerful than the force of arms, and were the chief means of leading to the conclusion of peace between Persia and Russia in 1813; and

* A Journey into Persia, in Letters from the Caucasus, &c. p. 365.

that the provinces, which the former power yielded up to the latter, were only to be held possession of, for a limited time, as a guarantee for the ratification of a future treaty. "This was dangerous policy with the Russians," said a friend, "and both the Persians and the English were *gulled.*" These provinces, once under the claws of the Imperial Eagle, were never intended to be restored to Persia; and the general and favourable change in the aspect of the affairs of Russia, soon enabled her to assume a higher, and even a dictatorial tone towards Persia; as we shall see in the course of General Yermólof's journal.

Abool Hassan Khan, the Persian ambassador, a character well known throughout Europe, arrived at Moscow, where he remained a considerable time, in consequence of the Emperor's absence; and where he received the highest attentions from the authorities, and the respectable foreigners of every nation. It was said, however, that he held the Russians, *in toto*, in contempt, and had an unconquerable dislike to them. Indeed, I have been told that, on various occasions, he showed this more openly than seemed consistent with his diplomatic situation; while his partiality for the English was remarkable. He reached Petersburgh, where I was settled at the time, and I had an opportunity of seeing the grand procession which took place at the presentation of the presents of the Shach of Persia to the Emperor of Russia. The

chief objects of curiosity were huge elephants with enormous black and red leathern boots, which were made on purpose, in order to preserve their feet from injury by the cold or the snow. Notwithstanding that these clumsy boots, upon no less clumsy feet, presented a large surface; yet, the snow being soft, the animals were impeded in their usual unwieldy motions, and moved most awkwardly along. The presents, consisting of them, horses, shawls, &c., were all received in the imperial palace with great ceremony and pomp; so as, no doubt, that the ambassador and his retinue might return to the East with imposing accounts of the grandeur of the Russian court, and the magnificence of its sovereign. But Abool Hassan Khan was not to be so easily duped. If his opinion may be judged of by his conversations, he left Russia with the same sentiments which he entertained at Moscow more deeply rivetted in his heart. He was well pleased, however, as the object of his mission had failed, that the emperor proposed to send an ambassador to Persia; because, if this had not been done, it was surmised, he might have lost his head.

All the necessary arrangements being made for his departure, General Yermólof, with his retinue, left Tiflís * on the 17th April, (O. S.) 1817, after

* Since the account of Tiflís was printed off, I have seen a statement, by which it appears that the commerce of that town amounts to above 60,000 roubles, of which 28,000 were for *exportation*, and 33,000 for importation.

having attended divine service in the cathedral, and received the benediction of the metropolitan. Many of the princes and nobles of Georgia conveyed him out of that town, and some even went as far as Kodi, where he had his quarters for the night.*

I shall not follow the slow advance of the ambassador to Emir-Aivaz, Ach-Kerpi, Achsebejouk, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th. Kotzebue relates, that the scenery near the mountain Achsebejouk was remarkably fine; and that the ambassador, charmed, "*de ce spectacle,*" said to the persons who surrounded him; "We admire the extent of this landscape; but it is only a point of the vast empire submitted to the laws of a single man." Our author also discovers that, "*cette idée est vraiment sublime;*" and that in the progress of ages, it will be regarded as a miracle that so many estates have been assembled together. †

The advance of the embassy, from the 20th to the 29th, by the mountain of Bezabdal, Kara-Klissa, Gumri (which lies on the frontiers of Turkey, Persia, and Russia), and Shirpilou-Caravanserai, contains nothing of interest. At the last named place, the General remarks, that it was fortunate that they carried all kinds of provision with them, both for man and horse; because the

* The German word *Nachtlager*, or *Natcht-Quarter*, the French *Gite*, or *Couchée*, and the Russian *Notchlég*, are very convenient; instead of our circumlocution.

† Voyage en Perse, p. 63.

Persians made no sort of preparation for the embassy; as neither they, nor the Russians, reckoned this region to belong to them. "Here," he adds, "as in many other places, no frontier is indicated."

"At this place there came to me an officer from Kars, who was sent by Ali Pascha with a letter and congratulations at my arrival. Having written a polite answer, and made presents to the messenger, I sent him back on the following day."

In his route, the ambassador speaks of different villages in Georgia, of which a better idea may be got, by the view of Teláv * at the head of this chapter, than by the most minute description.

The ambassador reached Talin on the 30th. This large colony, the first within the Persian limits, was formerly desolated by the forces of Russia. Six versts before arriving here, the general was met by the near relations of the Serdar of Erivan, along with some forces. At their head was Asker-Khan, who had been ambassador at the court of France, during the time of Napoleon. He complimented the general in the name of his sovereign, and informed him that he was the *mehmandar* of the Russian legation. A mehmandar, which may be translated *provider*, is an officer of a superior rank, who is charged to receive an ambassador or a noble, and to provide for all his wants. Kotzebue remarks, that it was a great mark of deference on the part of the Shach

* Vide p. 26. of this volume.

of Persia, to give the Russian embassy, as mehmandar, a personage who had been a minister plenipotentiary; and who had also been a general-in-chief of the Persian army. He likewise assures us, that General Yermólof, full of respect for the age and the high rank of this individual, showed him the greatest attention during his *séjour* in Persia, and never allowed him to fulfil the *soins minutieux* which this office imposes.

"At my first step," says the General, "on Persian ground, I demanded, that on my entrance into Erivan, the Serdar should come out to meet me. This distinguished grandee, a man who is intimately attached to the Shach, who was esteemed in his younger years for his bravery, and who had been looked up to for a long time only for his riches, certainly did not expect such a proposition; but I insisted with firmness on its execution."

On the 1st of May, and at the distance of five versts from Etchmiadzin, the patriarchal seat of Armenia, which contains a large and fine monastery, the ambassador was met by five bishops on horseback; who, having dismounted, complimented him on his arrival. The patriarch himself rode out more than a verst for the same purpose. "I alighted from my horse, and he did the same:—so little did I keep him under restraint. At the gates of the monastery I found an assembly of the clergy, in their most sumptuous habits, with crosses and images; and amidst the ringing of bells and the chaunts of singers, I was conducted

to the house appointed for my residence in the monastery. I wished to have gone directly to church, but intentionally did not do so; that I might not be accompanied by crowds of Persians, who had also met me, and who generally show no regard to the sanctity of our temples. I also discovered that many spies were stationed here, so as to observe the actions of the patriarch, and our interview with him. This was the first proof of want of faith towards us, which the Persians did not understand how to conceal."

On the 2d of May, the Persian officers having appointed not to make any halt, the general rode straight to Erivan, and attended divine service, because it was the festival of the Ascension. "The patriarch pronounced an excellent oration, in which he petitioned the blessing of God for success on the mission with which I was charged by the Emperor; and it was remarked by all of us, that when he made mention of the name of His Imperial Majesty, immediately afterwards he loudly repeated the name of the Shach, that the Persians might hear it. With sorrow I observed that the Persian officers asked for seats, that they might sit down during divine service, not regarding that I did not seat myself upon the arm-chair, nor even stood upon the carpet which was destined for me. I ought to remark, that those very officers dare not sit down in the presence of the Serdar of Erivan, unless he gives permission, which hap-

pens but very rarely, and is reckoned the highest favour. Foreigners,—with the exception of the English officers of the *East India Commercial Company*, who sell their not very valuable commodities for great sums of money, and French military vagabonds,—might easily remark, in the Persians, the most deep-rooted villany; and that they are the most complete slaves under the sun."

On the 3d, the General was met by Hassan Khan, at the head of about 500 Persians and Coordish cavalry. "Shooting commenced, and the Coordes showed themselves much more rapid and skilful than the Persians. I wished to have entered Erivan with some ceremony, but a heavy fall of rain opposed this measure. Not far from the castle a battalion of regular infantry — parade Persian infantry, — or peasants with arms, was stationed. The Serdar himself came out a verst to meet me; and, calling to his assistance that dissimulation which is coeval with a Persian's birth, he endeavoured as much as possible to conceal his disagreeable feelings." Kotzebue remarks, "that the inhabitants could not conceal their surprise at seeing so proud a man set out from the fortress and go to meet us. It was a homage which he only renders to the sovereign himself; but the ambassador had insisted upon this part of the ceremonial, *et peur surcroit de contrariété*, the Serdar, perhaps for the first time in his life, *fut trempé par la pluie jusqu'aux os.*"

The brother of the Serdar conducted the em-

bassy to lodgings, specially appointed, and its arrival was celebrated by a salute of artillery.

The Serdar, agreeably to the ambassador's demand, made him the first visit, and, according to Kotzebue, he placed himself upon a chair, *avec assez de gaucherie*, smoked much, spoke little, and scarcely moved the head, but he drank strong liquors copiously, and braved the commandments of the prophet. "That which surprised us was, that the governor said he could not live without the aid of spirituous liquors." He returned in about an hour, and invited all the persons of the embassy to dinner. They dined in Persian style, but had a second repast on their return home.

"They amused us with singing, to which the most unsupportable howling alone could be compared, and with dreadful convulsions and contortions, which the Persians called a dance. They regard this with enthusiasm; and, young boys who show skilfulness in this mode of dancing, receive their approbation."

On the 6th, "I was received, with my suite, in the garden of the Serdar." After dinner, "the singers and dancers distressed us. We had the band of music of the embassy with us, which highly pleased all present. We treated the Serdar with confections, ice-creams, and strong liquors. Frozen punch, in the form of ice-cream, was adapted for all palates. Out of good humour, we named it a medicated substance for strengthening the stomach.

Here we took farewell of the Serdar, showing the greatest demonstrations of friendship on both sides. This grandee is intimately connected with the Shach. He is reckoned one of the most learned persons in Persia (and, I think, also one of the most sacred); and, according to the understanding of the Persians, this character is not in opposition to the fact, that he can neither read nor write.

"Before my arrival at Erivan, a report had spread abroad that I had troops in my suite, and the dread of them was general. To foolish Persian credulity did it appear possible that I carried boxes with me, in which soldiers were concealed, and who were to take the castle? My unseen legions consisted of twenty-four infantry, and as many Kozáks; and my regular cavalry was composed of one under-officer of dragoons, whose only occupation was to look after my horse. These are the forces which arrived to alarm the Serdar, the firm prop of the Persian monarchy. Neither Persian pride, nor skill in dissimulation, could conceal the dread which the presence of the Russians excited.

"On the 7th, Captain Nadzarof, whom I had sent as courier to Constantinople, returned and met me at the village Tcherni, but neither in good time, nor with agreeable intelligence.

"On the 10th the embassy buried a free servant, who died at Kohik, from being unaccustomed to the climate." The corpse, according to Kotzebue,

was interred in a deep ditch, and covered over with large stones; but, at their return, this modest tomb had disappeared, and the body had been disinterred. The Mussulmans do not allow the body of a Christian to decompose in peace.

At Nahitchivan* the embassy met with Kamborei, the khan of this province, a very merry, and extremely polite old man, who had the misfortune to lose his sight during the reign of the Persian *Wicked One*, Ali Mahomet. He was affected by the particular regard manifested by General Yermôlof for his unhappy situation, and uttered bitter complaints against the cruelty of the tyrant. "The situation of slavery does not remove from man the feeling for affliction. If the severe judgment be sometimes formed, that beneficent Nature assuages the poignancy of distress, by the hope of vengeance, this unhappy individual, already advanced in years, and being removed from those who were faithfully attached to him, cannot have even this consolation. His son is retained by the government as an hostage for his fidelity. What new feelings would a similar *rencontre* excite with men living under a gentle administration, and under cheerful liberty? Here, with dread, we see the power of sovereigns exceeding its limits in relation to the subjects; and we behold, with grief, the subjects not understand-

* The Russians always spell this word so. English writers often write it Nackshiván, or Nukshivan.

ing themselves, nor feeling the dignity of man. I congratulate a hundred times the fate of my beloved country, and nothing can efface from my heart the contempt which I felt for the Persian government." This is very extraordinary language from the pen of a native of the despotic northern empire, who seems completely blinded to the true state of his own "beloved country," as also is the case with most of his countrymen. They have the madness to believe that the *Russian monarchy*, as they gently nominate it, has an excellent government. How blind we are when personal vanity comes in the way!

We are led to believe, that, besides the regular Persian soldiers whom the embassy saw on their advance, peasants who had arrived from the neighbourhood for the purpose of making bargains, were seized and armed, so that the strangers might understand "what dreadful forces surround the boundaries of the realms of Persia. The strictest observance of decorum could not conceal my feelings of disdain. I laughed, but not merely because the Persians appeared ridiculous to us."

The General advanced by Galaki Caravanserai, Marande, and Sophian, to the village of Ségilán, where preparations were made for the entrance of the embassy into Tabreez; and, they were informed by their future *mehmandar*, that troops, and various persons of rank, were appointed to meet them. On the following day the embassy made its solemn

entry into that town, amid numerous troops and many cannon. All the tradesmen of the town were said to have been under arms, so as to augment the number, and render the view more imposing. General Yermólof was received in the most handsome style, being met at some distance by Tet Ali Khan, the military governor of the town, and afterwards by the Vizier, who is the son of the Kyme-makaum, Mirza Bezoork, the second person of rank in the kingdom. The heir-presumptive himself, in a very common dress, rode behind the lines *incognito*. Having reached the house of his destination, an hour afterwards Mirza Bezoork sent to ask when he might be conveniently with the general. As he could not be received that day, he arrived on the following morning with his suite; and, after dinner, General Yermólof, with his suite, returned his visit. On the following day his excellency was received by the Abbas Mirza. "Through the *mehmandar* I was informed, in a very delicate manner, of the forms and ceremonies used at the court of Persia; that it was not permitted to enter the room of the heir-presumptive in boots, and that all were obliged to put on *red stockings* (Krasniyé Tchúlki); that I alone could be in the room with the counsellors of the embassy, and that the other officers ought to remain in the court; and of some other equally foolish previous arrangements. In the time of Napoleon, when he sought to do all possible injury to Russia, General Gardanne was

sent by him to Persia, that he might obtain the confidence of the Persians. He therefore acceded to every etiquette, and on him, after the *red cap of liberty*, it was not difficult to put on the red stockings. The English ambassadors, and all persons of rank now residing in Persia, perhaps not with the same views as the French, but that they may strengthen the bond of union for the advantage of commerce, likewise do not make much difficulty with respect to the etiquette of the Persian court, and use the red stockings; and the officers dare not enter Mirza Bezoork's shod in any other manner. But as I arrived here neither with the base feelings of a French spy, nor with the interested views of the clerk (*prikástchik*) of a commercial nation, I did not consent to the use of the red stockings, and the other prescribed conditions; and, on this account, Abbas Mirza, after a long conference with his council, resolved to receive us, not in a room, but in the court, not sitting upon carpets, upon which neither boot nor shoe had ever been permitted to rub, but standing as in common, upon stones, near the bridge, within the court, at the very windows of the palace, and under the portrait of Abbas Mirza's father."

As General Yermólof has made such a mighty affair of the *red stockings* as he calls them, or the *red boots*, or *slippers*, as they are denominated by others, the reader may be curious to know something of this custom at the Persian court. It can-

not be given in better language than that of Mr. Freyganch, who was, at least in some degree, General Yermólof's predecessor. "I may notice here," says he, "that, in the Persian court, they seem unacquainted with the rules of precedence and privilege so scrupulously observed towards diplomatic persons in Europe; and there is one custom which they never forego in favour of the most distinguished rank. It appeared to me very singular, and even the British ambassadors conform to it most strictly. It is required, that on all public audiences, the shoes be taken off, and the Persian slippers substituted for them. Far from affecting thereby any sort of superiority, or requiring an attention to the rule from mere ostentation, the court adheres to this formality, *as being of religious origin.* It is, moreover, *a very ancient custom*, and tends to the preservation of their beautiful carpets, the principal ornaments of Persian houses. I therefore made my appearance before the prince in slippers." *

Colonel Johnson and party, when presented to the heir-presumptive, were dressed in their own full uniform, "but in *red cloth boots*, and over them high-heeled green slippers:" and on a similar occasion, Sir R. K. Porter says, "We then disengaged our feet from our slippers, (*having red*

* A Journey into Persia, in Letters from the Caucasus and Georgia, p. 313.

kerseymere socks, a kind of boot without sole under them,) and drew near the place in which he (the Prince Abbas Mirza) sat."

General Yermólof would probably have acted wisely in following Mr. Freyganch's example in using the *boots*, (which he, for the sake of throwing more ridicule upon the custom, is pleased to call *stockings*,) and saved the disgrace which thence arose to his government, of having had its ambassador received, not in the usual audience chamber, but in an open court. But the general and his suite at first took very different views of the matter, and made more of this exemption from compliance to a long-continued custom, than many would do of a victory. On another occasion, for example, we are informed by Mr. Kotzebue, and apparently with much self-congratulation, that " telle est la délicatesse du prince héréditaire, *qu'il ne permet pas que les officiers Anglais foulent ses tapis* autrement qu'avec des chaussures légères de marroquin à la botte du pays; tandis que *nos bottes à talons ferrés y faisoient un vacarme affreux.* C'etoit une exception *bien flatteuse pour la personne de l'ambassadeur, autant que pour sa suite.* N'oublions pas, non plus, que le seul aspect d'hommes bottés suffit pour choquer les régards et révolter l'orgueil de la nation entière. Un changement de chaussure, aussi insignifiant par lui-même, a dejà fait rompre des negociations au Japan et au Chine." *

* Voyage en Perse, p. 143.

The ambassador gives a particular account of their progress to the said open court, which is unimportant. Here they saw "a man in ordinary red clothes without ornaments, seated behind a curtain," whom no one would have taken for the heir-presumptive. "But the master of the ceremonies and his adjutant speedily began to take off their slippers, and to bow nearly to the ground. I did not stop, and without taking off my hat, continued to move forward. In the middle of the court they overtook us, and again commenced their salutations." The rest of the progress of the ceremony is of little interest. Till they drew near the heir-presumptive, "all was risible and foolish, but at his presence all became tranquil."

Abbas Mirza was reared amidst luxury and prodigality, which he "*swallowed*" with his mother's milk, and he has had but woful examples of sovereignty in some of the predecessors of his father. "As the heir-presumptive of the throne, he has very extensive powers, which he little abuses. He is generally attached to the customs of Europe, and seeks every means of illumination. To these qualities, ever since his youngest years, he has joined a very captivating exterior. He received us in a very gay manner, and spoke with each of the suite very affably. Having remained about an hour, and got out from behind the screen, we immediately put on our hats, but the master of the ceremonies and his adjutant began their re-

treat according to the former order, *i. e.* bowing at the same places, with this only difference, that on their way back, every one seized his slippers, and hastened to put them on, or carried them triumphantly in his hands.

"To many, as well as to myself, the reception in the court seemed extraordinary, but the Persians endeavoured to represent it as a particular proof of such respect as had never before been shown to any ambassador. They told us that the heir-apparent never received any body otherwise than sitting, and on this occasion he stood, but not even upon the carpet." Who could have supposed that General Yermólof and all his suite should have been "*so gulled*" by the Persians. But the truth is, that the *victory over the red stockings* seems to have blinded them all to every other sentiment; and, while they were vain enough to show how highly they were flattered by the exemption, others were enjoying the laugh at their expense, and at the ingenuity of the Persian trick of receiving his imperial majesty's ambassador *out of doors* upon such a grand occasion.

On the following day, agreeably to the invitation of Abbas Mirza, General Yermólof accompanied his royal highness to the suburbs of Tabreez to see the troops. "In the streets were ranged the Persian and the Coordish cavalry, which afterwards followed us to the field. Not far from the town, we found the artillery ready for exercise, but

without horses. Abbas Mirza begged me to examine it, and added, that the Russians excited in him the envy of artillery. We praised his design, and the good example that he had chosen for imitation, because the English artillery is well known for its superiority.

"The Persian and the Coordish cavalry were drawn up in separate lines. From among the Coords were selected divisions, and they fell upon each other and began to fire. This people manage their horses with peculiar ease. Not one of the Persians rode out to show himself, on account of the superiority of the Coords in all things. The artillery fired against a mark, and very well."

On another occasion Abbas Mirza begged General Yermólof and his suite to come to his garden. They were received in a summer-house, in which it had been intended to regale them with tea. The Prince proposed to the general that all his suite should go into another room, where a repast was prepared for them. He said he should go with them. Abbas Mirza then retained the whole party with himself, but instead of tea, he gave them a little *sherbet*, "and certainly because he wished to drink it himself."

"All our horses were behind the garden wall, and only that of Abbas Mirza was led to him. One of my officers made a signal to my servant, and behind the horse of Abbas Mirza, my horse showed itself, a circumstance which appeared very

strange to the Persians; but nevertheless we rode from the garden together.

"No opportunities, no circumstances, present themselves, in which the Persians do not deem it necessary to demonstrate their pride; and I can imagine their surprise, when, in return, they are treated with still a greater degree of pride, and even contempt. In such a manner did I conduct myself towards them."

On the following morning the Vizier, and all the most distinguished persons, accompanied with their suites, made their visit to General Yèrmólof.

The General alludes to the English officers beating the Persian troops with their fists — blows which he thinks may yet be repaid in case of a change of government. He also describes his visit to the Vizier's, — the only place he went to, though he received many invitations, — the exhibition of fine fire-works, prepared by French and Italian refugees, &c. &c.

"An officer arrived from Teheran, with intelligence from the Grand Vizier, that after the marriage of two of his sons, the Shach would set out for Sultania, his summer palace. By him I also received an invitation to go there, if I could not arrive at Teheran in time for the weddings. It was difficult to succeed in this, and therefore it was arranged that the journey should be performed leisurely, and it was resolved to quit Tabreez."

The Kyme-makaum, the nearest and the most

confidential personage attached to Abbas Mirza, as well as the Prince himself, keenly endeavoured to persuade the ambassador to remain a while at his country castle, called Udjani, and assigned different reasons with respect to the General's comfort for pressing this plan upon him. For two days, negotiations were continued about this business, when the extreme anxiety manifested for his delay, led him to suppose that they had some concealed design. "I therefore," says Yermólof, "told them determinately, that, without fail, I should set off, and that I had reasons for so doing. To oppose me they could not; to stop me they dared not.

"The day before my departure, Abbas Mirza sent to ask me to ride out of town with him. I excused myself, because I was to depart on the following day; and said, that to-day I intended to take care of my eyes, which pained me, and therefore that I could not have the pleasure of seeing him. I begged leave, however, to send one of my officers to present my grateful acknowledgments to the heir-presumptive for his gracious and kind reception, and his attention. I added, that I ought to have had a farewell audience; but, as I had not been received by him in a convenient manner in the court, I did not reckon it necessary." The General now began to see the errors of his first impressions. His unexpected answer to the Prince's offer, *touched* the Kyme-makaum, and was followed

by long-continued explanations. The Prince's minister endeavoured to convince the ambassador that the reception in the court was the highest testimony of regard which had hitherto been shown to any ambassador, and that former ambassadors had put on the red slippers if they wished to be received in the audience-room. "I ordered him to be told, that *I could not be put in comparison with others*, because I had not arrived for my own advantage, and that he ought to understand *that I was the ambassador of the most powerful nation of the world;* and, besides, was their neighbour, whose friendly intercourse might be of use to Persia."

The General, therefore, prayed the Kyme-makaum, — if the *ceremony of the red stockings, and such-like*, must be rigidly adhered to, as the basis of friendship, — that he would inform the Shach that he would not put on those stockings; and that he might not perform a useless journey, he should await an answer upon the road, and, if necessary, should return to Russia. This unlooked-for answer threw the Kyme-makaum into a panic. The General received an answer from the Prince, stating, that he did not desire to see him, and that on the following morning he would receive his officer. The ambassador told Mr. Sókolof to repeat the same things to Abbas Mirza as he had done to the Kyme-makaum; but he himself left Tabreez at sunrise.

Nothing can be more contradictory than the character of Mirza Bezoork, the Kyme-makaum, as

given by different writers. Sir R. Porter, in speaking of him, says, "This really noble Persian is a man of a spare habit, about fifty years of age, with a languid but expressive countenance, bespeaking goodness and penetration, and, when occasion calls for it, an energy in every feature that testifies the activity of a minister, in every way worthy the trust devolved on him by his royal master. True national policy is yet an infant science in this empire. But Mirza Bezoork is one instance of considerable maturity in the knowledge of government, of the power, happiness, and grandeur, which arise from its just administration. The most disinterested liberality, with regard to his own personal advantage, and an expansion of view in the fulfilment of his office, proceeding from the cultivation of his mind, make him a very superior person, and above most of his compeers, valuable for his counsels to a Prince, whose own dispositions seem so well inclined to lead, or to follow any good purpose for his country." *

In the translation of Letters from the Caucasus, is the following note: — "With respect to Mirza Bezoork, the veteran minister of the court of Tabriz, it ought to be added, that his integrity and his abilities are equally admirable."†

On the contrary, Kotzebue says, that "Mirza

* Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. vol. i. p. 236.

† Vide p. 316.

Béjourk est un homme très fin, qui contrefait la dévotion, et souffre volontiers qu'on lui donne le titre de *Dervish.* Son avarice et ses exactions mécontentent le peuple, qui le déteste aussi cordialement qu'il bénit le gouvernement du prince." And, in another place, he states, that " ce ministre n'est qu'un grossier personnage et un vieil hypocrite." *

General Yermólof goes farther, and asserts, that he is a man well known for his subtlety, who allows himself to be called a *dervish* twenty times in a quarter of an hour's conversation, and who pretends not to have any of the passions of a mortal, that he is equal-minded to all worldly honours, and a stranger to all vain desires. " Yet this anchorite," he adds, " occupies the second place in the government, and is ready to replace the Grand Vizier of the Shach; this stranger to passion, — this just man, who seeks heaven by fasting and prayer, — through the weakness of human nature, in reality had, and now has, a seraglio, and has already buried fifteen of his children. He called his son to the rank of Vizier without his having merited it by any service, and is now prèparing his own place for him. But, on all occasions he has followed the system of holding honours in contempt, and titles as vanity.

" The Vizier is a young man, who has received

* Voyage en Perse, pp. 129. 146.

his appointment merely through the interest of his father, to whose care was entrusted the youth of Abbas Mirza."

This minister has preserved great influence over his royal pupil, and, indeed, if the master is to be judged of by the prince, he deserves great credit. At this moment there is not a prince, even in Europe, who seems more anxious to civilise and enlighten his nation than Abbas Mirza. He is truly the patron of arts and sciences, and learning of every kind; and, should his succession to the throne not be accompanied by intestine broils and confusion, he may prove to Persia what Peter the Great was to Russia, and add glory to the name of man. All writers and travellers speak of him in the most flattering terms, as well as General Yermólof and those of his suite, both with regard to his manly appearance and noble conduct, his talents and goodness of heart.

What a contrast between Abbas Mirza, the heir-presumptive of Persia, and Constantine, the apparent successor to the throne of Russia! How different is their conduct, when partly under restraint, and partly as independent sovereigns? Should they come to the thrones of their countries, Persia may be blessed beyond anticipation, while Russia may see Paul II. under the fine sounding and classic name of Constantine; but assuredly not in sheep's clothing.

General Yermólof alludes to the high influence

of the English at the Persian court, to his guard of honour, and to those in attendance who knew Russian and were placed around him as spies; and then adds, that he could never propose to ride out of Tabreez without his design being known to Abbas Mirza, who always proposed to accompany him. Therefore, to avoid observation, though suffering much from ennui, he remained at home. "In a word, every step of the Persians was a testimony of their mistrust in us, and every action manifested the design to conceal from our view the weakness, the poverty, and the villany of the government, while, by a deceitful exterior, they endeavoured to *ravish* our esteem."

General Yermólof embraced an opportunity, by an officer returning to Teheran, to inform the Grand Vizier, by way of precaution, that he would not submit to be treated after the above manner, which he esteemed remote from friendly dispositions, and would thence adopt another line of conduct.

In his journey the ambassador reached Macmitch, which is surrounded by other villages, and by fine forests, in consequence of a custom of their inhabitants, that at the birth of every male child fifty or more trees are planted, which subsequently belong to him, This example is worthy of imitation in other countries where wood is scarce and valuable.

The description of Udjani, the summer resi-

dence of Abbas Mirza, which was reached on the 28th of May, and which did not please the embassy, possesses no interest. It is remarked, that four small villages are seen from this castle, whose inhabitants are in abject poverty, because they are on the great road, in consequence of which they must supply the government officers with provisions, and attend to all their wants. This seems surprising to General Yermólof, who surely forgets the many similar sources of oppression in Russia, which I have animadverted upon in various parts of these volumes.

Two paintings, which were seen at Udjani, are particularly described; the one in which Abbas Mirza presents his regularly trained forces to the Shach; and the other, a victory gained by the Persians over the Russians, which draws forth indignation and laconic remarks from the General, who could not conceive when or where the combat took place. In speaking of the conquering chief, he will not allow that it was "the Shach, who never left his *harem*, which is crowded with beauties and children;" nor Abbas Mirza, who "never conducted his troops to victory," and "the fame of whose combats, *after a defeat*, belonged to his fleet horse, which saved its master by rapid flight." — "The hero who was crowned with fame, is the Englishman, Lindsay, a major in the army of the East India *Commercial* Company," who is satirically compared to Jupiter. In one engagement,

we are told, that Abbas Mirza saved himself by flight; and that only a single division of his army remained unvanquished, *which consisted of his wives*, because precaution had removed them in good time. After some other suppositions and similar observations, the general discovers that the painting represented the defeat of a battalion of the Trinity regiment of infantry, of 300 men, who were surrounded by the Persian army, and who made a desperate resistance.

With the portraits of Napoleon and Alexander, General Yermólof is not better pleased, and he ascribes them to the imagination of the painter.

The ambassador is sometimes amusing amid his dry though interesting details. After speaking of the young son of Kyme-makaum, who, when about seventeen years of age, married one of the daughters of the Shach, and afterwards received lessons, not only in the higher branches of education, but also *in reading and writing*, — he adds, "At his age a wife is not always the best guide to wisdom." In another place he expresses an idea, that all *court people*, however much they differ in morals or actions, should compose one tribe, who should always be alone; as the difference of their sentiments is only in the degree of the finesse of villany.

We find the embassy, after its advance, in an encampment at Sengilabat, on the 6th of June, where it was determined to await the conclusion

of the feast of the Ramadan. Here were also Colonel Johnson and Capt. Salter, who were on their way from India to London. General Yermólof speaks of the Colonel "as a learned man, and impartial in his opinions;" who "was surprised at the poverty, and the small population of Persia; and whose remarks, respecting the morals of the natives, are extremely interesting, and completely coincide" with his own.* It is implied, that Colonel Johnson's impressions were not at all favourable to the Persians, and it is stated that his conduct seems to have been different from that of our countrymen in the Persian service, "who are prodigal of all possible baseness for their own advantage; and the measure of whose flattery is proportioned to their augmented payment for dishonesty." Hear this, ye Britons, with indignation! From a Russian, who can bear it? Yet it ought to be treated with silent contempt.

Colonel Johnson speaks in the highest manner of General Yermólof, and of his conduct and hospitality; and I believe, from various accounts, with good cause. In General Yermólof's journal, however, some illiberal remarks escape his pen.

Another account of the ambassador's is very amusing. Mr. ——— arrived from India, "who had been a resident at one of the Mahratta govern-

* Vide "Journey from India to London," which was published afterwards by the Colonel, for his own statements.

ments," and who, after having passed fourteen years in that country, was returning home "with much riches, acquired by his civil and diplomatic occupations." The general here takes occasion to allude to "the manner in which these gentlemen *steal* in India, become rich in a short time, and set out for England; while a military man must serve at least fifteen years there before he can save as much money as will pay his passage home." And this is given upon an Englishman's authority, whose name I shall not mention, to avoid offence.

On the 19th, the embassy had reached Versagam, where it was joined by Mr. Mazárovitch, from Teheran, who brought a letter from Mirza Abdool Wehab, a minister who possesses the complete confidence of the Shach, and is reckoned the best informed of the nobles. On the 23d, it had its station at Avanloog, "where it was impossible to remain, in consequence of swarms of bugs, which are well known for their dreadful poison." It soon reached Miana, now become famous as the capital of these singular insects. General Yermólof remarks, it is singular that their bites are not attended with danger to the inhabitants, while it is not an uncommon occurrence for strangers to die from them. "The servant of an English officer, and one of our Kozáks, who were a convoy, could not resist the effects of their poison. The Persians cure themselves from the effects of this poison by the strictest forbearance from every kind of nourishment for

the space of forty days; using nothing during that period, except water with sugar *; but still it occurs, that though they recover from the first effects of the poison, they are ever afterwards troubled with cramps and contractions of all their members. This method of cure is adopted, certainly because the Persians, on account of their stupidity, have never tried any other."

The Miana Bug, of late years, has made so much noise, that it deserves the attention equally of the naturalist and the physician. Although I regard many of the stories respecting this formidable insect as somewhat overcharged, yet there seems to be no doubt, from the concurring testimony of travellers, that its bite sometimes proves mortal. The time at which death takes place, however, is very differently stated, as may be remarked in the following quotations, all of which appear to have been taken from oral communications, and neither of which is, perhaps, altogether correct.

Kotzebue says, that the Miana bug "is larger than the European bug, and is of a grey colour, approaching to black, and covered on the back by a multitude of red spots. It conceals itself in the walls, and prefers them in proportion to their long standing. It is among them that these insects are

* The General either did not know, or had forgot, that sugar is highly nutritious. Dissolved in water, however, it would make but poor fare for a succession of forty days.

found in abundance, and that their sting is the most dangerous. They never show themselves during day, and though they fear the light, yet that of lamps or candles does not cause them to fly. They have infested Miana since time immemorial; and have spread themselves to the environs, where, however, they are somewhat less dangerous. In winter they remain torpid, in the holes of old walls; and, similar to that of all venomous animals, their poison is more active during the great heats of summer. It ought to be remarked, with reference to this subject, that the Persian houses are not built of brick; but especially at Miana, and in all the villages, they are formed of hardened masses of clay mixed with cut straw. That which is marvellous, even unique, with regard to the bite of these bugs is, that they do not attack the natives; or, at least, the bite which they inflict upon them, is not followed by more serious consequences than that of the European bugs. But they make a cruel attack upon foreigners who have the misfortune to pass a night at Miana; *and they often cause death in less than twenty-four hours.* I heard of two such examples. All the English of Tabreez declared that they had lost one of their servants at Miana, who was attacked by those terrible insects. He soon experienced a violent heat of the whole body, fell into a species of delirium, and at length expired in the midst of dreadful convulsions. I have received

another account, not less worthy of credit, from Baron Wrede, who served a long time with distinction in Georgia; and who, some years ago, was sent as ambassador to Persia. When he proceeded to Miana, the season was far advanced; and, believing that he had nothing to fear from the bugs, he passed the night there, but took the precaution to keep a lighted candle in his room. He experienced no bad consequences; but a Kozák of his escort, on the following morning, had a black spot upon his foot, became delirious at times, and at length had paroxyms of madness. The inhabitants recommended a remedy which is used in a similar case: that is, to take the skin of a bullock, and envelop the foot of the sick person in it a while. Recourse was had to this measure, but it was of no use, and the poor Kozák died in agony. It is said that this plan generally succeeds; but it is necessary that the patient should take nothing but sugar, and water, and honey, for forty days. As I have already said, the natives of Miana take these insects into their hands without danger."* Kotzebue well exclaims, "What a happiness is it that these formidable insects do not attach themselves to clothes, for they would thus soon be propagated throughout Persia;" and he might have added, throughout the world.

It appears that while the embassy was at Miana,

* Voyage en Perse, p. 180

many of its members slept badly for fear of the bugs; and that the apothecary, under the influence of the same passion, walked about the whole night.

Sir R. K. Porter informs us, that Miana and the adjacent villages are infested with a kind of small but poisonous bug, which it has been found impossible to eradicate. "It breeds," says he, "in myriads, in all the old houses, and may be seen creeping over every part of their walls, of the size and shape of the bugs in Europe, only a little flatter, and in colour of a bright red. Its bite is mortal, producing death *at the expiration of eight or nine months*. All strangers, not merely foreigners, but persons not usually inhabiting the town or its vicinity, are liable to be thus poisoned; while the people themselves, and the adjacent peasantry, are either never bitten, or, if so, the consequences are not more baneful to them than the sting of the least noxious insect. The fatal effect of this bug, however, upon strangers, being known as an absolute fact, every precaution is taken accordingly by native and foreign travellers."*

A gentleman who is now in London, having brought some of the Miana bugs to Moscow, in the spring of 1823, made a present of one to Professor Fischer, in whose cabinet I saw it. It was this gentleman's intention to give every detail

* Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. vol. i. p. 263.

respecting the bugs in question, in the second volume of his "Entomology of the Russian Empire;" or as my learned friend, who assuredly is too fond of new terms, calls it, the "Entomographia de la Russie:" a splendid and valuable work. I am in expectation of being able to give some further information about this real *bugbear* of Asia in the Appendix.

Miana is famous for its carpets, which are made of camel hair, and combine a variety of beautiful colours.

On the 25th, seventeen versts beyond Miana, the embassy crossed a river, which is of considerable breadth during an inundation, by a bridge twenty-three arshins in length, which was erected in the time of the Sophies, and of which Kotzebue takes no notice, and passed the night at Djamalabad. Three or four versts beyond this bridge lies the chain of the Kaplanta hills, the ascent of which is difficult, and the descent of which, extending to about seven versts, ends abruptly at the river Kisil-Osoun, across which is built a fine bridge of three arches, of an extremely light and agreeable appearance; and which, as far as I can judge by the view of it in Kotzebue's "*Voyage en Perse*," does the architect much credit.

Here the ambassador notices the remains of a fine paved road, which was formed in the time of the Shach, Abbas Mirza the Great; and he contrasts the remains of times gone by, with the

productions of the present. The ruling monarch, and the founder of the dynasty, Aga Mahomed Khan, are compared to the Jews, who might have taken an *arend* (a lease) of badly administered and unfortunate Persia. " All the present royal residences (*palatniki*) of Persia consist in some small palaces, in which are concealed an incredible number of wives and mistresses. They greatly resemble our workhouses, and only differ from them in this, that in them the females are locked up to prevent seduction, while, in ours, they are reformed from vice."

The embassy advanced by Sardjam to Nikpé, where it was met by Abdool Mirza, one of the sons of the Shach; and who administers the territory in which it is situated. On the 30th of June it reached Sanjan, where that prince has his residence, and who received the general and his suite with all possible politeness and attention. According to the ambassador's way of thinking, this was done because he had been curiously treated at Tabreez, that it might be reported how well he was treated here, and that he knew how to be grateful. The mehmandar asked permission to depart before the embassy; because, according to Persian divination, it was a lucky day; but General Yermólof retained him on purpose that he might be chagrined for his ignorance.

On the 5th July, the embassy encamped at the forest of Samanarchié twelve versts from Sultania,

where Mirza Abdool Wehab, the minister and the favourite of the Shach, was awaiting it. Mr. Mazárovitch went and explained, that for General Yermólof's *rencontre*, no ceremony was necessary. Here they found a much better camp than they had hitherto had, and a guard of regular troops was always stationed around them, who were attached to the Shach, and are called the Djan-bazi; or, as some have it, the Djam-Bauze.

Abdool Wehab made the ambassador a visit, which he returned on the following day. Persian politeness and compliments were shown by the minister, which the general despaired of being able to equal, though he purposely uttered many *belles paroles*. He had been previously informed, that Abdool Wehab was authorised by the Shach to open the preliminaries, so that, by the time of His Majesty's arrival, as much information as possible might be obtained from him. But the ambassador made a pretence of slight indisposition, and for some days avoided frequent meetings. This measure only seems to have increased the impatience of the minister to commence negotiations before the arrival of the Grand Vizier, Mirza Sheffi. Taking advantage of his acquaintance with Mr. Mazárovitch, he invited him to his house, and thus discovered that the Shach remained in full assurance, agreeably to the representation of his ambassador at Petersburgh, that all the territory occupied by Russia would be restored, and that

Karabágh especially would be demanded. As Mr. Mazárovitch had no authority, he could say nothing determinate upon these subjects; but according to his own views, he very clearly combated the sayings of the minister. He represented the power of Russia — her political situation — her friendship with all her neighbours — and alluded to her acquisitions from Turkey, even in the year of the French invasion, 1812; and then demanded, if he thought she would now consent to any restitution, and especially of a country which she most willingly protected with her great power. The "minister, the grandee, the favourite, and the best informed person in Persia," by no means comprehended this reasoning, and at different times sounded Mr. Mazárovitch as to the hope of Karabágh being restored. "He said, that in case of refusal, a war might follow; he boasted like a Persian, and what is more, like a slave and a courtier, of the forces and the means of Persia. He added that the Georgians, and the mountaineers in Daghistan governed by Russia, were heartily devoted to the Persian government, which had an *envy* for all the territory to the gates of Tiflís. So much for the knowledge of the Persian minister respecting Russia, her means, and her power. They suppose we are no more dangerous neighbours than the Tichmentsi and the Avgantsi, especially since the English have organised some regular forces and artillery for them."

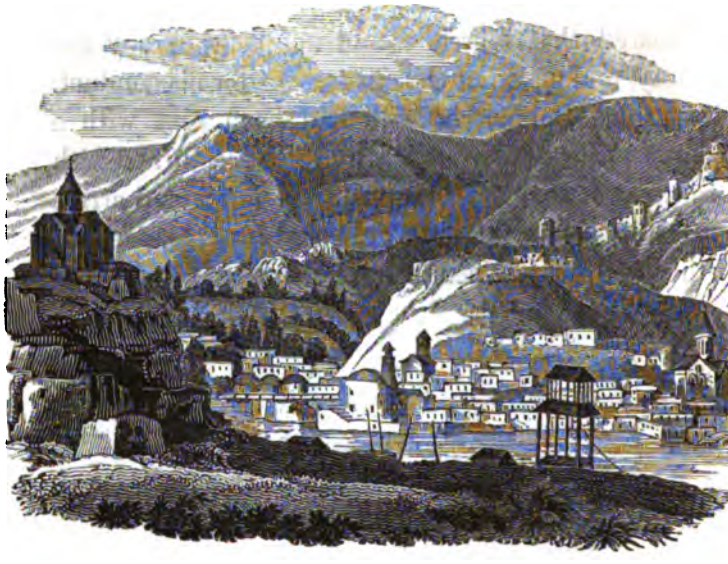
On the 9th, Abdool Wehab through Mr. Mazárovitch, sent his credentials from the Shach, which authorised him to commence negotiations with the ambassador, and soon afterwards he followed himself. "I informed him that not yet having had an audience with the Shach, I could not negotiate with any body; but that knowing him to be a distinguished individual, I could not deprive myself of the pleasure of his conversation." An explanation of four hours' duration followed, when General Yermólof informed the minister, that he had not come to Persia to seek the friendship of the Shach for his sovereign by the sacrifice of provinces, whose inhabitants flew to the protection of Russia, and whose allegiance he valued; and after assigning many reasons, or pretences, he ended by telling him finally, that it was impossible to cede any territories to the Shach. The discussions were carried on with frankness and all possible moderation on both sides; and after separation, the General returned the unopened credentials of Abdool Wehab.

After the above interview, the Minister and the General saw each other not less than ten or twelve times, and the same subject always occupied their attention. Mirza Abdool Wehab stated, that without the restitution of the territories, he suspected the General would not be able to maintain the bonds of friendship with Persia, and that the Shach would be chagrined by a refusal to do so, as he

had so long expected that measure. General Yermólof replied, that the Emperor, in consequence of his regard for the Shach, would be extremely sorry at any rupture, because he seriously wished to preserve his friendship, while at the same time he ought to protect those tribes committed to his care. For his part, the General stated, that he knew his duty in taking care of the dignity of his sovereign, and of Russia, and added, "if in the reception by the Shach I remark coldness, and if, in the negotiations with whoever is appointed to confer with me respecting affairs, I observe an intention of violating the peace, I should not suffer such conduct, and I myself would declare war, and demand the territory to the Araxes." The General then entered into an explanation of his plans for the capture of the said territory, which seems to have produced no serious impression on Mirza Abdool Wehab. He therefore adds, so as to alarm him seriously, "I am sorry that you reckon this rodomontade, but I could fix the day when the Russian troops should be at Tabreez; indeed, I only wish that you would give the word, that you would await me there for an interview. I also added, that war would be unfortunate for Persia, and would have distressing consequences, and that it might be followed by intestine broils, and the overthrow of the present dynasty." After various discussions, which sometimes endured even above four hours, the General

declared that Russia would not yield up any territory, and urged numerous reasons for his conduct.

Prince Bokovitch, who had been sent with a letter to the *Saddar Aza*, Mirza Sheffi, returned with an answer that the Shach without fail would arrive at Sultania on the 20th July, and his entrance into the capital is noticed in next chapter.



CHAP. XVI.

ARRIVAL OF THE KING OF PERSIA AT SULTANIA. — HIS ATTENTION TO THE RUSSIAN EMBASSY. — HIS NEGLECT OF THE ENGLISH.—THE PALACE OF THE SHACH.—PREPARATIONS FOR THE PRESENTATION OF THE AMBASSADOR. — THE GRAND VIZIER MIRZA SHEFFI. — THE TYRANT AGA MAHOMED. — ANECDOTES. — PROPERTY OF MIRZA SHEFFI. — COURTIER-CONDUCT OF GENERAL YERMÓLOF. — PRESENTS OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER TO THE KING OF PERSIA.—PRESENTATION OF THE EMBASSY.— THE KING'S GRACIOUS CONDUCT. — PRESENTATION OF THE PRESENTS. — THEIR TRANSPORT TO TEHERAN, AND THE ASTROLOGERS. — GENERAL YERMÓLOF'S SELF-COMPLACENCY. — WANT OF FAITH IN THE PERSIANS.— ALEXANDER'S DETERMINATION TO RETAIN THE PERSIAN PROVINCES. — USELESS NEGOTIATIONS. — THE SHACH'S CONSENT. — RECONCILIATION OF THE KYME-MAKAUM AND THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR. — CURIOUS FESTIVAL OF GENERAL YERMÓLOF. — PRESENTS REFUSED BY HIS EXCELLENCY. —

PRESENTS ACCEPTED BY AN ENGLISH AMBASSADOR.—TREATY OF PEACE SIGNED BETWEEN PERSIA AND RUSSIA.—FAREWELL AUDIENCE OF THE SHACH.— USUAL CEREMONIES. — RETURN OF THE RUSSIAN EMBASSY TO TABREEZ. —TYRANNICAL CONDUCT OF GENERAL YERMÓLOF AT TABREEZ. — THE EMBASSY REACHES TIFLÍS. — VIEWS OF TIFLÍS. — GENERAL APPEARANCE OF KACHÉTIA. — COLLECTION OF TAXES IN GEORGIA. SULTRY HEAT AT TIFLÍS. — DEPARTURE.

As the Shach of Persia travelled by short journeys, and was to arrive at Sultania on the day fixed by his astrologers, which was somewhat distant, the Russian embassy was detained about twenty days, notwithstanding the extraordinary importance and honour with which General Yermólof thinks he was every where treated. During this period the Russians suffered much from the heat of the climate, which amounted daily to 30° of Reaumur. They were also excessively troubled with clouds of dust, in which they were at times completely enveloped. Their joy was therefore so much the greater, when a salute of artillery on the 20th July announced the near approach of the sovereign; and many of the officers of the embassy went to see the ceremony, as well as the ambassador himself.

Troops of infantry lined the way for the extent of a mile from the castle, between which the cavalcade defiled in the following order: — an elephant bearing a rich canopy upon its back; fifty camels carrying musicians, whose heads were surmounted by red caps, and whose instruments were

long trumpets and kettle-drums; four hundred camels, which transported small one-pounder cannon, called *zembourcks*, which are attached to the back of the animal, and turn upon a pivot, and from which a volley was fired; eighteen cannon; twenty led horses very richly caparisoned; and forty out-runners, the oddly-coloured feathers of whose bonnets were formed into a crown.

The Shach, dressed in a very simple manner, was mounted on horseback. According to Yermólof, the legs, tail, and mane of his grey steed were embellished with orange-coloured paint; and Kotzebue says, "le cheval étoit tout resplendissant de pierreries." Near the Shach was Mirza Sheffi, the Saddar Aza, alone; and now and then his oldest son Mahomed Ali, or his son-in-law and first adjutant, Alajar-Khan, rode up to him. No other individual approached His Majesty, and Mahomed Ali, who had preceded his father at the head of fifteen thousand cavalry, and seventeen of the king's other sons, superbly habited, and all mounted upon beautiful horses, followed their royal father, while a corps of cavalry closed the procession. In this manner the Shach arrived at the small, dirty, and clay-built palace, before which, in place of a garden, are rows of trees with a muddy stinking rivulet running among them, and a basin of rude stones, whose green-coloured water did not bespeak its good quality.

When the Shach was near the palace, according

to the custom of the country, a camel was immolated. The Shach quitted his horse, when fifty small cannon were fired, and the bloody head of the animal was placed at the sovereign's feet.

The Shach having remarked some of the officers of the embassy, and the ambassador *incognito*, who were uncovered, raising himself upon his stirrups, he saluted them by frequently repeating *Koschskéldi*, i. e. You are welcome. This circumstance is said to have astonished all; and the Persians again deceived the Russians by telling them, that hitherto their monarch had never granted such an honour to any individual, and that no person had ever seen him raise himself in his stirrups. The French translator of Kotzebue, with great truth remarks, the Russians never neglect the most trifling occasion of making known the honours which their ambassadors receive, *et qu'ils prétendent avoir été refusés aux légations précédentes;* and although he could not see that General Gardanne and the English ambassadors could have desired more ceremony, yet General Yermólof was of a very different way of thinking. The following remark will excite the laugh of every individual at all acquainted with the affairs of Persia, in allusion to the above conduct of the king.

"The Persians and I," says Yermólof, "believed this a rarity, because, at the same time, the English *Chargé d'affaires*, who had been at this court seven years, together with some officers of the

mission, though they had alighted from their horses, and made the lowest reverences, yet did not attract the smallest attention from the Shach."

A second salute of artillery announced that the Shach had entered the palace, when the troops dispersed. In this palace live the wives and the concubines of the king; among the latter were many dancers, who amuse His Majesty in the *harem*. In a camp at a short distance were stationed his sons, who were permitted to have their *seraglios* with them till the arrival of their royal father.

Led by curiosity, the General visited the palace, which he found so small, "that in it was not a room for every day of the week, that one of the apartments was disgustingly dirty, and that in the best apartments were partitions covered with mats, such as are used to cover hay."

After the king had been six days at Sultania, he is said to have been surprised that the ambassador remained at Samanarchié; and, it is concluded, that he was ignorant of the fact, that his minister had not appointed rooms and other conveniencies for the embassy, the expences of which, nevertheless, were thrown upon the nobles.

Between the palace and the place for the encampment of the embassy, an immense space was destined. Merchants, from the environs, had received orders to go to Sultania, and near the camp a large bazár was formed.

On the 26th the Shach sent an officer, named the

Safer Khan, to conduct the embassy to Sultania. The order of the procession is described by Kotzebue. In their progress thither they were much troubled with dust, which was greatly augmented when the *Valli*, or Prince of Kourdistan, at the head of some thousand Coordes, joined, and then preceded it, as a mark of honour. "Such ceremony was never allowed to the Tsars of Georgia when they were subject to Persia."

"Like elephants, which in Russia attract the curiosity of the common people, so I entered the camp, followed by an immense crowd, and was soon afterwards visited by the most distinguished personages, who came to congratulate me on my arrival, and who sent me a great quantity of fruit and confections. In Persia cucumbers are esteemed a valuable present, and beans are a rarity. Such dainties were sent us every day, and often with the reckoning that the servants would receive more for them than their intrinsic value. The Shach himself sent nothing better, except at times some wild fowl, which were shot by himself, that he might show his peculiar benevolence and favour." But, it seems, these royal presents cost dear, as they were always overpaid to the officer who accompanied them; and, besides, some money was given to be divided among the servants. "Foreigners may escape from this tax; but, when the Shach bestows similar favours upon the nobles, he also informs them what sums they ought to give

their bearers. Through extreme avarice, he sometimes receives these sums, or they are reckoned as part of the salaries of those who are honoured with them.

General Yermólof visited Mirza Sheffi, the Grand Vizier, also called *Saddar Asa*, who is about eighty years of age, during more than forty of which he has performed the duties of his present office, having held it during the reigns of three sovereigns. According to Kotzebue, he is a little man, whose voice is weak, and even sepulchral; but who had his share of vanity, used *du blanc et du rouge*, and even affected vivacity in his demeanour. Although overloaded with affairs, he assured the officers of the embassy, that under a prince, such as the present Shach, the ministry was only a *bagatelle*, and that his old age was not overcharged by it. During the infernal administration of Ali Mahomed Khan, he was oftener than once subjected to punishment, and in the school of adversity he learned lessons of wisdom which enabled him to support even injustice with an equal mind, and to disappoint the intrigues of those who formed schemes for his ruin. He is reckoned one of the most interesting characters in Persia, and many anecdotes and stories are related of him, two of which may be noticed.

In the reign of Aga Mahomed Khan, the predecessor of the present sovereign, who was a eunuch, Mirza Sheffi experienced every kind of

opposition and disgust, so that, spite of his love for his country, he was at different times upon the point of *begging his resignation.* Aga Mahomed had been the victim of the most shameful treatment in his youth, because it was intended to prevent his ascent to the throne. Putting himself, however, at the head of an intrepid and devoted party, he assumed the sovereign power, which he could not maintain, except by unheard-of cruelty. These circumstances generated in his breast a general hatred of the human race. Given up to the most extraordinary caprice, sometimes he had belief in every body, sometimes he had confidence in none, not even in himself. He also became the victim of drunkenness; and, in his sober moments, he often regretted the orders he had issued when in a state of insensibility. It is also said, that he sometimes shed bitter tears for the fate of his favourites whom he had immolated the preceding night. Endowed with a martial spirit, often excited to fury, he dreamt of nothing but war and battles. Misfortune drove him to the greatest extremes, and at length that fate, which generally awaits all unbounded tyrants — all cruel and bloody despots — laid him prostrate in the dust. The severity of his punishment, had he been conscious of it, was augmented by the fact that he fell by his own guards.

It is impossible not to admire the means by which, through the goodness of Providence, the most des-

potic sovereign is ruled or moderated by his subjects—the most overbearing lord of the soil by his slaves—and the rich by the poor. That direful passion, revenge, on some occasions, seems a virtue, and is of such a potent nature, as to fear no danger, and to brave death. It tends to maintain a certain equilibrium, in every state of society, between all ranks of its members. It is true, that human nature often suffers much and suffers long; but when an opportunity offers, even the weak become strong, and revenge has its victory. Ye despots and tyrants think of this, and of the fate of your predecessors in all ages and in all countries, and reform, or tremble, for an untimely death most likely awaits you.

Mirza Sheffi was daily in the cabinet of the Shach, and was obliged to write to his dictation. When the king was in a bad humour, he tormented this minister in every manner. One day the sovereign, forgetting himself, loaded him with reproaches, and ordered him to take a note of them. He therefore dictated the most offensive accusations against himself. According to the impetuous monarch, his minister was an ambitious person, who sought an opportunity to deceive him, who allowed him no repose, and who took pleasure in distressing him, and preventing his sleep. The minister wrote tranquilly, without allowing himself to be put out of countenance by the torrent of invectives. Furious at seeing him calm, the prince threw his cushion

at his head, then his pipe enriched with diamonds, and every thing else within his reach, and at length fired a pistol at him. The ball passed through the beard of the Vizier, and broke his shoulder-bone. He fell, bathed in blood, and the cruel monarch went to sleep.

The cure of Mirza Sheffi was not accomplished before six months, during which time he did not appear at court. The Shach did not once deign to enquire respecting him; and when he heard of his convalescence, he remitted to him the helm of affairs.

On another occasion the prince caused the fatal noose to be put on Mirza Sheffi's neck, but, by good fortune, the minister presented a copy of the Koran, which he always carried with him, and this book served him as his safeguard.

"The Grand Vizier having lost all his sons, seemed to be in despair that he would have no kindred to whom he could leave his noble property in heritage. He is rich through extreme avarice; and yet he continues, by every means, to increase his wealth; formerly the French, but now the English, make him presents, so as to have success in their affairs. Still the Shach has found the means of getting part of the Grand Vizier's effects, even during his life, by the marriage of one of his sons to his daughter. Although only ten years of age, it is already two years since she lost her *promised* (*affiancé*) but as

the Shach has seventy sons, she will have no difficulty in choosing another husband."

The old Vizier paid Persian politeness to General Yermólof, who found himself, in all civility, bound to repay it. That he might show some address*, he began by showing surprise at his great offices and virtues, and the old man received his caresses as sincere. "I formed an acquaintance with him. I begged his instructions as those of an experienced and sagacious man, and assured him, that being taught by him, I could not show a greater mark of attachment than to give him the name of father, and, like an obedient son, by acting toward him with frankness on all occasions and in all affairs.—I returned to him as to a father, but when it was necessary to produce something new, or to alarm him, then preserving all filial respect, I assumed the place of an ambassador. I showed myself to this Ægis only on the most urgent occasions, and always returned with triumph."

The Grand Vizier made a visit to General Yermólof, after which he, as well as the principal officers, went to examine the presents which were designed for the Shach; and which, according to Kotzebue's enumeration and valuation, were most magnificent. They consisted of sets of beautiful crystal and china, vases, telescopes, gold snuff-

* Vide p. 147. of this volume.

boxes, immense-sized looking-glasses, jewels, watches, furs, &c. Among the latter the above-named author says, there were two sable dresses, "deux fourures de martre zebeline," each of which was valued at thirty thousand roubles. * According to Kotzebue, Asiatics as they were, the visitors were struck with inexpressible astonishment, and could only articulate the monosyllables pah! pah! and houp! houp!

"With much self-complacency," says General Yermólof, "the Shach gave me the first audience in a tent, which was erected in a court near the palace. The ceremony for me was different from that which had been in use on all similar occasions. All preceding foreign ambassadors had put on *red stockings* †, and were conducted without slippers. I entered in ordinary boots, and was received with peculiar regard."

All preparations had been made for the ceremony, after considerable negotiations about etiquette, which were at length arranged with much trifling, and, according to the ambassador, "as he desired."

The forces being properly disposed, General Yermólof received Mahomed Khan, the second aide-de-camp, who was accompanied by a number of officers, in his principal tent, after which they pro-

* Voyage en Perse, p. 218. and The Character of the Russians, &c. p. 281.

† Vide p. 347. of this volume.

ceeded to the castle. The tent of the Shach was erected in the second court, in which the monarch gave audience. But the ambassador was complimented by the first adjutant-general and son-in-law of the Shach, named Alajar Khan, at the exit of the first court, where tea, coffee, and the kalioon were presented. That officer, after leaving the tent, soon returned, and announced that the Shach was ready to receive the ambassador, who accordingly advanced, accompanied only by two counsellors of the mission, one of whom carried the letter of the Emperor upon a gold plate. The ambassador himself remitted the letter to the Shach, and at the same time pronounced the following speech: "The Emperor of Russia, my powerful monarch, firm in his principles as in his sentiments, professes high esteem for the person of Your Majesty, and for the glory which surrounds it. He desires to consolidate for ever the peace which he has concluded with Persia, and which is the happiness of Your Majesty. I reckon myself happy in having been chosen to be the bearer of these vows to Your Majesty. God is witness of his good intentions with respect to Persia." This specious and courtier-like harangue was translated into the Turkish language, which the Shach speaks very well, by Mr. Negri.

"The Prince," says Kotzebue, "asked the ambassador to be seated, an honour which no European had ever received;" and, he adds, "nous

y avions ajouté l'innovation hardie de paroître en bottes."

After waiting about a quarter of an hour under the first tent, the officers were conducted to the audience. The adjutant-general took off his slippers, but they only saluted the monarch. He introduced them in the following terms: "The officers of the Russian embassy desire to have the honour to approach the dust of the feet of Your Majesty: they await your orders." The Shach turned towards them, and cried *Koschkeldi, Koschkeldi;* i. e. You are welcome! After they had taken off their hats and had entered below the tent, the ambassador rose, and begged permission of the Shach to introduce them individually, to which he consented. He behaved to all of them in the most affable and agreeable manner; "but in his conversations with some of them he did not understand how to conceal his extreme pride, which did not appear a good omen for my affairs; in this, however, I was much mistaken."

Kotzebue gives the particulars of this audience, to which the reader is referred. On one point, however, I shall not hesitate about quoting both him and General Yermólof. "Feth-Ali-Shach," says Kotzebue, "is of a middle stature; he has large and quick eyes, and a majestic brow; all the lower part of his face is concealed by his long beard, which nearly descends to his knees.* The *beauty*

* See an excellent portrait of the King of Persia, in Sir R. K. Porter's Travels. Frontispiece, vol. i.

of this beard is celebrated throughout Persia, and the subjects are in the custom of invoking it in their most solemn oaths." *

When visiting the palace, General Yermólof saw two portraits of the King of Persia, one of which he afterwards found was destined for the emperor, and the other for himself; and he remarked, that both of them were painted in the "most humble manner, and showed that the Shach's pretensions consist in this, that his long beard should be painted still longer than it is in reality; that his eyes were the very blackest, when they are not so," &c.

"At the conclusion of the audience," says Kotzebue, "the prime minister entered the tent and seated himself near us. The Shach, in a loud voice, said all kinds of flattering things with respect to the ambassador, and particularly praised the politeness of the General, who rose up every time he addressed the monarch." †

According to Yermólof's account, the impatience of the Shach to see the presents destined for him, and respecting which he had heard much to excite his curiosity, induced him to give the ambassador another audience. But Kotzebue says, "That he might not give himself too much up to profane pleasures, during the Ramadan, the King of Persia did not wish to see the presents before the expiration of the fast."

* Voyage en Perse, p. 233. † Ibid. p. 235.

On the 3d of August, the ceremony of their presentation took place, and, as usual, the General finds that he was treated in a very flattering manner; for, "contrary to general custom, the Shach received them himself." He is said to have been *ravished* by them, especially by the large looking-glasses, and the crystal. The furs, already noticed, were so beautiful, that the Persians thought they were painted; but the ambassador protested against this, and said that the Emperor Alexander had chosen them with his own hands. At these last words the Russians make the King to say, very awkwardly, while pressing his hand upon the furs, "May my hand repose upon the same place which the powerful Emperor of Russia has touched! My friendship is pure and sincere; it will endure for ever." *

The Shach ordered his minister to send a courier to Teheran without delay, so as to order a particular part of the palace to be reserved for the presents; and added, that if they got safe to that capital, a thousand tomauns should be the reward of such news; but, that if the smallest thing were lost, he who neglected his duty should answer for his fault with his head. This is related so by Kotzebue, who seems to make the Shach say any thing he pleases, and to utter speeches which do the monarch no credit. It must be added, however,

* Voyage en Perse, p. 241.

that this author does not seem to err in this intentionally, for he every where speaks of the King of Persia, his talents, and conduct, and wisdom, in terms of the highest admiration.

The King occupied the evening in exhibiting the imperial presents to sixty of his wives, and on the following day they were packed up, so as to be sent to Teheran. But when all was ready, his astrologers stated that it was necessary to wait three times twenty-four hours for a favourable constellation, and, when the day arrived which was fixed upon by their calculations, they required that the presents should at first follow a route quite opposite to that of Teheran, because, as they maintained, the propitious stars took that direction.

General Yermólof speaks in the most complaisant style, with respect to the Shach's attachment to him; and Kotzebue relates, that this ambassador had frequent interviews with the King, who was so highly pleased with him, that he absolutely wished to retain him at his court, and pressed him to ask permission from the Emperor Alexander to do so. What, have the General and his flatterer forgot the Persian politeness, which they frequently ridicule!

Having delivered the presents both to the Shach and to the nobles, General Yermólof told Mirza Sheffi, that it was necessary to begin business; and it was agreed that the communication between them should be upon paper, because it had been found by the ambassador's predecessors "that the

Persians neither reckon it a shame nor a dishonour to deny that which they had said in public, or upon oath." Although the General had no great pretensions to be a courtier, upon which his character did not depend, yet, as a heavy responsibility lay upon him, he wrote all the letters himself to the minister, in which he explained that his grand object was to make known the design of the Russian government to retain all the provinces whose restitution Persia so powerfully entreated. This information seems to have made a very strong sensation at the court, and no one, according to representation, was likely to choose to make it known to the King. The General had already given such a statement to Mirza Abdool Wehab, during his residence at Simanarchié, who, like Mirza Bezoork, pretended that he dared not communicate it to his sovereign. To release him of this difficulty, the ambassador promised that he would inform the Shach himself. But this was what the Persian ministry dreaded, and fearing that he really sought an opportunity of making such a communication, they told him that they had to make a proposition without the knowledge of the Shach; that it would be but an act of justice that Russia should restore the provinces in question, or at least, part of them. "I told them," says the General, "for the last time, that I myself, as commander-in-chief in Georgia, upon whom devolved the care of the frontier, had informed the Emperor that it

was not possible to make the smallest cession, and that this sovereign gave me leave to speak in his name. I remarked, that this answer was received as somewhat definitive, for the same demand was afterwards but feebly repeated." At one of the conferences the conversation turned upon Mirza Bezoork. He was no friend to Russia, and had excited the enmity of General Yermólof, who informed both the Grand Vizier and Mirza Abdool Wehab that the malice of the Kyme-makaum at the court of Tabreez might have direful consequences; and that this low villain might be the cause of the rupture of the friendship between Russia and Persia, and of years of tears. An ambassador was despatched to Petersburgh, and in the meantime dinners and amusements followed, which are described by Kotzebue, as well as in the journal of General Yermólof, but which need not be noticed here.

On the 16th of August, the ambassador received a paper from Mirza Sheffi, by which it appeared that the Shach put more value upon the friendship of Alexander than upon the provinces whose restitution he had so earnestly desired. This determination was opposed by some of the ministers, but the eldest son of the king, Mahomed Ali Mirza, was also for peace; and, according to General Yermólof's opinion, he was of his royal father's opinion for his own advantage. During a war with Russia, the appointed heir-presumptive, Abbas Mirza,

between whom and Mahomed Ali there is eternal enmity, has much greater trust confided to him, demands more money, and maintains more troops than in time of peace; and that prince well knows that when he shall be obliged to fight for the succession, these forces will be turned against him.

At length the Shach himself orally communicated his consent to the retention of the provinces by Russia, but the ministers wished to make the ambassador feel "that this was a peculiar mark of the Shach's kindness," an act which was not wished to be so understood. By the entreaties of Mirza Sheffi and Mirza Abdool Wehab, General Yermólof consented to put an end to the discontentment between himself and Mirza Bezoork. Accordingly, Mirza Sheffi invited the ambassador to his house, where was the Kyme-makaum, who was previously warned, and who was ready to forget the past and to be a friend. "We consented," says the General, "without explanation, and assured each other of friendship which never could have place in our breasts." On both sides were the same kind of feelings, and the same measure of faith: to all promises were given the most seemly exterior. The Shach was highly pleased at this circumstance, because "he was sorry that the Kyme-makaum had given me cause for discontentment, and regretted that I treated him like *canaille*." Visits were interchanged, and the ambassador and the Kyme-makaum saw each other daily as friends.

General Yermólof received numerous invitations, which he refused. Along with his suite he dined at Mirza Sheffi's, and at Nizam ut Doulut's, the grand treasurer of the kingdom, governor of Ispahan, and one of the richest individuals in the country. At the adjutant-general's, Alajar Khan; at the Valli's, the Prince of Coordistan, who is a vassal of the king of Persia; and at Mirza Abdool Wehab's, they drank tea.

Wishing to give a general fête before his departure, the General ordered preparations to be made, and thought he might ask whom he pleased to be present. But the proposed festival, on the contrary, became a state affair. The Grand Vizier made a report respecting it, for the king's examination. The Shach allowed that it should take place; but of the list of individuals whom it was intended to invite, some names were erased, on account of the inequality of their rank with that of others, and some, because they could not be present in the same room; so that in place of forty or fifty persons, whose names were in the list, there were only ten or twelve individuals chosen. The highest of the clergy were then consulted as to this point; whether, according to the Koran, it was permitted to visit an infidel? "The Mussulmans cannot use food which is prepared by Christians, and therefore it was impossible that they could come to me; but the fear that a refusal would cause my displeasure, induced the

assembly of the clergy to send a number of their servants, who should carve the meats, prepare tea, &c.; and so the feast took place." It appears, however, that all were much restrained by their doubts or their principles; though, "at the conclusion of the festival, not one whole dish remained upon the table." Every individual chose that whose exterior pleased him, and asked the General to order it to be conveyed to his house. This puts me in mind of the practice in Russia of pocketing the fruit, confections, &c., after dinner, which is done in the most open manner, even in the highest houses.

When at the house of Nizam ut Doulut, General Yermólof was treated with the highest respect; and the host, after examining a finger of his left hand, put an excessively large ring upon it. The General withdrew his hand, and informed him, that such presents, and given in such a manner, he did not receive; and that on the morrow he would more conveniently tell him why. The landlord considered this as the greatest affront; and indeed, during dinner, he proposed, if the General would not have the ring, to give him a very precious stone: but he "kept himself aloof, and threatened an interruption of friendship if he persisted in his conduct." This account is followed by an anecdote for the English.

"The Grand Vizier, Mirza Sheffi, presented a

ring to one of the English ambassadors, and the Englishman did not put him to shame by its refusal; certainly having regard to the intrinsic value of the stone."—"It would be agreeable to me, at least, that the Persians did not estimate my conduct by my own interest; especially as they relate, that this English ambassador, without shame, carried presents with him of great value. On the following day, the Grand Vizier, Mirzà Sheffi, also sent me pearls in a present; but, in the same manner, I refused them."

A treaty of peace between Russia and Persia was concluded and signed on the 27th of August, and the 29th was fixed for the departure of the embassy.

It is the custom in Persia, that ambassadors, or individuals of consequence who have been introduced at the court, receive a robe of honour, in which they show themselves at the farewell audience. "General Yermólof," says Kotzebue, "declared that he would not submit to this ceremonial, and that a Russian would offend his sovereign if he put on another dress above his uniform. The King admitted this excuse, and made in our favour this first, and perhaps last, derogation from etiquette:" he, however, sent the cloth necessary for making such dresses.

At the farewell audience, the royal presents were received by every one of the embassy according to his rank. The decoration of the first class of the order of the Lion and the Sun was bestowed upon

General Yermólof; and that of the second and third orders upon other individuals. The officers do not seem to have been much pleased with their treatment on this occasion; for Kotzebue states, that with the exception of the two counsellors of the embassy, who were a little better treated, each of them received nothing else than a shawl, and two pieces of brocade. He says the shawls were mostly pierced by holes *et couverts de reprises*, and wishes that his Persian majesty would avert the tricks of those of his house who cause a shawl to pass, perhaps, through four or five hands, before it arrives at the happy mortal who ought to preserve so precious a morsel. I shall not follow the embassy on its return to Tabreez, where General Yermólof was received in the kindest manner, and treated with much attention; he and his friend, the Kyme-makaum, sometimes behaving as if they were really reconciled to each other; at other times, upon the point of a quarrel. Abbas Mirza conducted himself with the utmost prudence, dignity and condescension. Dinners, fireworks, and other amusements were given to the embassy, as well as singing-parties, which might better have been dispensed with; as the vocal powers of the natives seem to have had no charms for the Russians. Indeed, when at Zenjan, on his return, the ambassador, after speaking of the music of his band in terms of high approbation, adds: "The sounds of sweet harmonious music had never

gladdened the ears of the Persians; among whose instruments, the bagpipe and the cymbal might occupy an important place." But they prefer the trumpet and the tambarine. "Their elegance in singing, consists in a dreadful yell, and the wildest mutations of the voice. — Such music even is the Shach's." Yet the Persians, "to whom the bray of an ass is no disagreeable sound," asked the ambassador, "if there was as much skill and sensibility in the Russian music?"

At Tabreez, according to the MSS. it was with great difficulty that peace was preserved; for the embassy had scarcely arrived before a quarrel took place. Mr. Mirshé, a French officer, who called himself a colonel of Napoleon's guards, and a chevalier of the Legion of Honour, would not permit the musicians to take up their quarters in a house destined for them. According to Yermólof, he not only endeavoured to drive them away by bawling, but even struck one of them two blows with his sabre. General Yermólof sent to inform Abbas Mirza of the affair, and to demand satisfaction. The Prince immediately sent an officer to assure the General that the Frenchman should be punished; but when the ambassador asked leave to be a witness of the action, he perceived that there was a design to deceive him. Perhaps forgetting his proper place, or acting *à la Russe*, the General immediately sent his adjutant and six grenadiers to take the delinquent under

arrest; and if they did not find him at home, to wait for him. Those musicians whom he had struck were ordered, besides, to employ the castigation of the *pleti*, or whips.* When Mr. Mirshé arrived at his quarters, he wished to defend his conduct by new impertinences, but a gentle blow laid him prostrate. His clothes were then opened, and the flagellation was effectually bestowed. His sabre, which had been taken from him, was sent by the General to Abbas Mirza; thereby signifying that it was to be hoped he would not have such a rascal in his service. The answer was, that he should be chased away from the town. The sabre, however, was not received; because, foreseeing the future, Abbas Mirza locked himself up in the *harem;* so that the messenger could not be admitted. That prudent prince, however, by this conduct, showed his evident and well-merited displeasure at the illegal, dictatorial, and even tyrannical proceeding of General Yermólof. It was an act worthy of a tyrant, after the gentle procedure of Abbas Mirza; and is no doubt well-remembered. The journal of the ambassador, from Tabreez to Tiflís, contains little that is worthy of translation; and, besides, it is time for us to abandon him to the politicians of Europe and Asia, and to return to our travels.

During our residence at Tiflís, our time was

* Vide p. 104. of Vol. I.

occupied in visiting every object of interest, and taking views of the town, one of which heads the present chapter.* We also went to see an adjoining German colony, previous to noticing which I shall add a few general remarks.

The colonies of Wirtemburghers have received every encouragement from General Yermólof, and are settled in various parts of Georgia upon lands which have been assigned them.† Houses have been built for them, and they have been provided both with cattle and seed, as well as assisted with money. It is said that they have greatly improved the state of agriculture, and every kind of rural and industrious employment. They bring butter, cheese, vegetables, and even beer to the market at Tiflís.

The colony in the suburbs of Tiflís, which we visited, seemed to be in a prosperous condition. There a Frenchman also resided, who was famous as a cook, and who furnished an excellent dinner and good wines, by order of a gentleman who invited us to a party. These Germans are reported to show their gratitude to the Russian government by their docility and their industry. Notwithstanding the dreary appearance of the neighbourhood of Tiflís, it is said that the soil is very rich, and that it is sufficient to graze its surface and to throw in the seeds, which yield thirty for one.

* Vide p. 513. Vol. I.

† P. 22. Vol. II.

This fertility is assigned as one of the causes of the idleness of the natives.

Having finished our trip in Georgia, we could well appreciate the general accuracy of Sir R. Porter, who speaks of the extreme beauty of the valleys of Kachétia, of its hills and mountains clothed with the finest woods, of its gardens which yield fruits of the choicest flavour, and its vineyards which produce the most delicious grapes. He justly adds, that Kachétian wines, both red and white, have always been esteemed for softness, lightness, and delicacy of taste, beyond those of any other district in the province of Georgia. "The valleys of Kachétia are abundant in hemp, flax, rice, millet, barley, and wheat;" and they may almost be said to grow spontaneously. Pheasants, many kinds of wild fowl, antelopes, deer, sheep, and all sorts of domestic cattle, enrich these luxuriantly pastured vales. The rivers, too, add their tribute of plenty to the ample stores of nature. Many of the treasures of the mineral world may be found in the hearts of its mountains, and the climate is delightful. "Indeed, heaven seems to have drawn to this happy spot the essence of all that is necessary to the wants of man. But, alas, the man who has been placed in this earthly paradise to keep, to dress, and to enjoy it, has neither the will to separate the weed from the good herb, nor the taste to feel that it is sweeter than his neighbour's. Sunk in apathy, he cares not whether rain

or sunshine descend on the ground; abandoned to indolence, it is all one to him, whether his food be the bramble or the grape; and for personal comfort, the stye would afford as pleasant a pillow as a bed of flowers; such is the present Kachétian." From this statement we may remark the sad deterioration of character in the Kachétians, compared to their ancestors, the renowned Albanians.

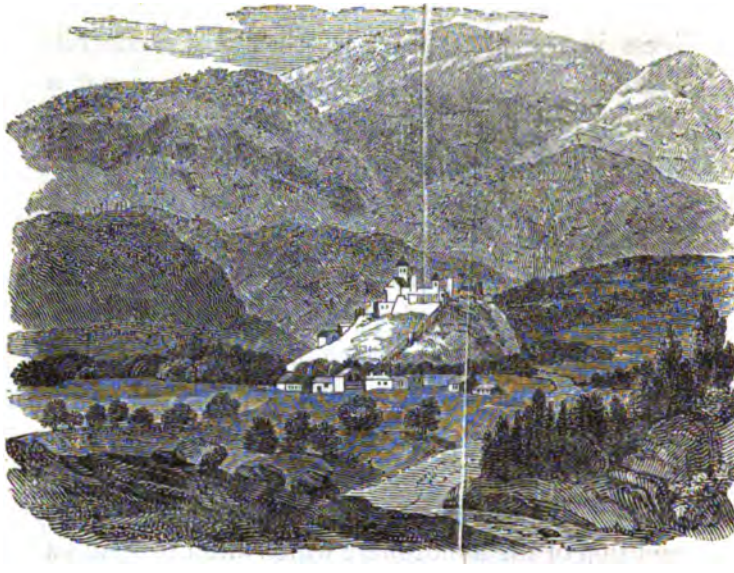
Speaking of Georgia, Kotzebue informs us, with respect to the collection of the revenue, that, in the month of November, the governor usually traverses (*parcourt*) the frontiers, and visits the different khans subject to pay tribute to Russia; that the chiefs have the custom of making considerable presents, which cannot be refused without offending them; and that the General has found the means of accepting of these gifts *sans leurs causer trop de préjudice.* He has begged the khans not to give him any thing but sheep, which constitute their principal riches, and he sends these animals to the regiments. Small flocks are formed of them, which it is not difficult to support, as the meadows yield plenty of pasture during the whole year. *

The 1st and 2d of July we passed at Tiflís in the most disagreeable manner; for, although the temperature did not exceed 86° and 90° Fahrenheit in the shade, there was an oppressive sul-

* Voyage en Perse, p. 52.

triness in the atmosphere which almost made life a burden. We had been lucky enough to get a very large room at an Armenian's, in which we opened all the windows, and created a circulation of air as far as that was practicable in a still day. We also sprinkled the floor with water, and used ablutions with water and vinegar, notwithstanding which we were excessively restless, hot, and uncomfortable. As the degree of heat was not very great, I am inclined to attribute these effects to a particular local state of the air, which may arise from the nature of the vicinity of Tiflís and its situation in a narrow valley, as well as from that condition of the atmosphere which often precedes a thunder-storm, and which is generally attended by a degree of oppression that temperature alone does not explain.

A thunder-storm in the evening, which was accompanied and followed by much rain, had but a transient effect upon the air, for we passed a restless night, and the following day, the 2d, proved equally disagreeable; so that we were glad to escape from Tiflís in the evening; having previously obtained our orders and letters for those who were to assist us in passing the Caucasus.



CHAP. XVII.

ARRIVAL AT KHARTISKÁRST. — DEPARTURE FROM IT.—ANANNOOR. — THUNDER-STORM AT PASSANANOOR. — DEPARTURE. —EFFECTS OF A STORM.— KASHAÚR.— KÓBI.— PRISONERS ON THEIR ROUTE TO SIBERIA. — KASBÉK.— ROMANTIC ACCOUNT IN SIR R. K. PORTER'S TRAVELS. — ANONYMOUS CRITIQUE OF THEM.— AUTHOR'S OPINION. — DIVISIONS OF THE MOUNTAIN TRIBES OF THE CAUCASUS. — WORKS RESPECTING THEM.— ACCOUNT OF THE OSSETINIANS.— THEIR ROBBERY.— HOSPITALITY.— REVENGE OF BLOOD FOR BLOOD. — POLYGAMY. — MARRIAGE. — RELIGION.— OATHS.— DEATH OF THEIR RELATIONS. — THEIR SEPULCHRES. — PORTER'S ACCOUNT OF THE OSSETINIANS.

In the evening of the 2d of July, we reached Khartiskárst, and found a wonderful and most

agreeable change in our sensations, compared to what we had experienced at Tiflís. We passed the night most delightfully upon our *burchás* and boards, in one of two new houses which have lately been erected for the convenience of travellers, and a great convenience they proved to us.

On the 3d July we left Khartiskárst at six o'clock in the morning, and, after a charming ride, reached Passananoor in the evening. We dined at Ananoor, and rejoiced that we had no occasion to enter its miserable quarantine on our return. The vignette which adorns the head of the present chapter, gives an excellent view of the castle of Ananoor, which includes a church.*

The weather had been fine but warm. Rain commenced in the evening, and a thunder-storm followed, and continued all night. The reader will recollect the position of Passananoor, encircled by lofty mountains, which, however beautiful in fine weather, now fearfully increased the horror of the storm. Thunder rolled, and was reverberated by the rocks; flashes of lightning followed each other in rapid succession, and were immediately succeeded by extremely loud claps, by one of which our loose shutter fell down and somewhat alarmed us. The rain, which fell in torrents, soon penetrated the wooden house in which we slept, and some of our party were obliged to remove their

* Vide p. 490 of Vol. I.

burchá-beds to another part of the room, to avoid the wet which fell upon them. In the morning, when daylight dawned upon us, Passananoor appeared one of the most gloomy abodes we had ever seen, Our accommodations, too, had been but very indifferent, our beds consisting of hay and our *burchás*, upon the bare floor.

At six o'clock of the 4th, the weather being fair, and the sky clear, we left our quarters; but we had not proceeded far when the thunder-storm was renewed, accompanied by heavy showers; and, but for our *burchás*, we should have been very uncomfortable: even with them, we were drenched through, except about the shoulders. The rivulets and streams we had formerly crossed were now become torrents, and, carrying down stones and earth from the mountains, forcing before them the foundations of bridges, and making new channels on all sides, they completely destroyed the road, which we in many places could neither trace nor follow. Since the same destruction regularly takes place after every violent storm, or heavy shower, the trouble of keeping the road in tolerable order may be easily conceived; but the soldiers at the stations, besides others in the vicinity, are employed for the purpose, and of course the expense to the crown is little or nothing, while the men's health is improved by the exercise. Before we reached the bottom of the hill of Kashaúr, the weather became fair, and the sky clear, so that the snowy summits of the

Caucasian ridge were seen to great advantage. As we ascended the steep hill, however, clouds formed below us in the valley, and were gradually elevated. They soon enveloped the whole horizon in a very thick fog, which was followed by rain. We made a visit to the officer at Kashaúr, who was very kind to us, and at whose house we breakfasted. We set off, with fair weather, for Kazbék. From the northern extremity of the vale of Passananoor, or the southern foot of the hill of Kashaúr, to Kazbék, is by far the most mountainous, and the most difficult part of the passage of the Caucasus. Having reached Kóbi we found it equally as miserable as at our previous visit; but, as we had taken the precaution of providing some stores, we got a dinner without being dependent upon its resources.

Soon after leaving Kashaúr, we came up with three prisoners, who were conducted by a military guard and an officer to Kóbi. They were on their way from Tiflís to Siberia, but the officers could not inform us of the crimes for which their hard sentence had been received. His duty, like that of the rest of the officers, was merely to accompany them a single station, to lodge them safely, and to take a certificate from his successor in the charge that all was in due order. One of them was a Mahometan Tartar, the other two were Russians. The feet of all were in irons, and though it was summer, they were seated on rude low sledges, like small cars, drawn each by a couple of oxen. On

arriving at Kóbi, the Tartar was conducted, under a guard, to an adjoining stream, where, after several ablutions, he performed his devotions, apparently with much earnestness.

With a few showers we reached Kazbék in the evening. The mountain of the same name was completely uncovered, the sky clear and serene, so that it was seen to great advantage.* In passing through the mountains to-day, the air was not only fresh but even slightly cold, and formed a wonderful contrast in temperature to that of Tiflís.

We lodged in the house of Madame Kazbék, and slept on feather-beds; an indulgence dearly purchased with its concomitant annoyances. We did not see that lady, who rarely shows herself to strangers, though, by her orders †, the rites of hospitality are performed to all respectable travellers.

Sir R. K. Porter gives a very romantic account of his reception at this place. He tells us, that in one corner of the quadrangle formed by Madame Kazbék's house, "are a suite of excellent rooms, set apart for the reception of travellers of distinction. I had been honoured in being ushered into these apartments as soon as I arrived, and I was greeted by a little boy, about twelve years old, the son and representative of the late General-in-chief,

* The reader will find a particular account of this mountain in *Reise in die Krym und den Kaukasus* von Moris von Engelhardt und Friederich Parrot, M. D. part i. p. 192.

† Vide p. 475. Vol. I.

who performed the hospitable duties of the house with the grace of one twice his age. His mother, the mistress of the mansion, did not make her appearance, being unwell; but she had ordered refreshment to be spread for me, which consisted of dried fish, some small pieces of roast meat, excellent bread and butter, and, after all, some as excellent coffee. Two of my fellow-travellers partook of this repast, and were as amused as myself with the discordant aspects and *devoirs* of our attendants, their assassin-like looks and garb giving them more the appearance of banditti than that of serving men, for they were all armed, and had their breast-pouches filled with cartridges. Indeed it could not but cross me, once or twice, that they might eventually prove as savage as they seemed. For it was not improbable that these very people, who were now so obsequiously providing for my wants, might, on our advance to Kóbi, if I gave them opportunity, waylay and rob, if not absolutely murder me: a mode of farewell, to recently welcomed guests, not very uncommon amongst these rapacious mountaineers. In their opinions, within the gate, and without it, makes all the difference in the rites of hospitality, and, therefore, in the bonds of faith between host and traveller." * A very ingenious but severe critic has remarked, that Sir R. K. Porter, "in his attempts to *work up* many passages to some-

* Travels in Persia and Georgia, vol. i. p. 76.

thing much *finer* than was at all necessary or fitting, has given not only very highly coloured, but even very inaccurate representations of the objects which he describes, and has cast over his whole production an air of fiction—of romance—from which there is not enough of solid truth to redeem it." * It must be admitted, that there is too much truth in these observations; but, at the same time, in all candour, it ought to be allowed, that the Knight's travels contain a good deal of information, and that the plates, which are no doubt the offspring of much labour and assiduity, greatly enhance their value.

Before quitting the Caucasus, I shall embrace the opportunity of introducing a few general observations, which may be of use to future travellers.

Different divisions of the mountain tribes of the Caucasus have been proposed so as to assist in their examination and history. Guldenstädt, one of the earliest learned travellers, who devoted much attention to this subject, has divided them into classes, as Georgians, Basianas, Abasians, Circassians (or rather Tcherkess), Ossetinians, Kisti, &c. and these classes into tribes. † Pallas, wishing to improve upon his predecessor, adopts a different division ‡, and adds numerous observations with

* Blackwood's Magazine, No. XCI. p. 140.

† Reise durch Russland und im Caucasischen Gebürge, vol. i. pp. 459-502.

‡ Pallas's Second Journey, &c.

respect to the customs and manners of the tribes, on which points Guldenstädt is deficient in information. His statements, however, chiefly respect the inhabitants of the north side of the Caucasus.

A gentleman, well acquainted with the tribes of the Caucasus, is of opinion that they might be arranged under the six following classes, which include many species and varieties, *viz.* the Circassians — the Lesghees — the Ossetinians — the Kisti — the Georgians — and the Tartars.

It is matter of regret, that notwithstanding the labours of a number of travellers, our ignorance of the inhabitants of the Caucasus should still be so great. Tooke's works give but a very imperfect account of these people. But there are two works, in the English language, which contain a good deal of information with respect to them; neither of which is very well known. One of them is "*Ellis's Memoirs of the Natives of the Caucasus,*" principally compiled from the work of Guldenstädt, already referred to; and the second is entitled, "*A General Historical and Topographical Description of Mount Caucasus,*" translated from the works of Dr. Reineggs, and Marshal Bieberstein.* The last work, which I first saw in Georgia, contains a great many interesting details, but unfortunately they are thrown together in great confusion. The most important work which has issued from

* London. 2 vols. Printed for C. Taylor, Hatton Garden, &c.

the press, of late years, with respect to the mountain tribes in question, and especially with respect to their languages and dialects, is unquestionably the "*Voyage au Caucase et en Georgie,*" of Klaproth. But it is so abundant in long discussions about languages, dialects, derivations of words, &c. as to be little liked by the general reader. In the "*Letters from the Caucasus, &c.*" and in Sir R. K. Porter's Travels, we find a number of very interesting observations, many of them, however, taken from Pallas. In the "*Great Geographical Dictionary of Russia,*" or Vsévolojskii's "*Dictionnaire Historique-Géographique,*" scarcely any information is to be found; and the Russian geographer, Yablóvskii, seems to know but little about the Caucasus or Georgia.

Though all the works referred to, as well as others, of which I have formerly spoken, be deficient in any thing like a complete account of the mountaineers, yet they pave the way for the investigations of some learned individual, who, after giving up a few years to travelling in the Caucasus, and the study of languages and dialects, and the acquisition of accurate knowledge, might produce a most interesting work, replete with novelty. To such an individual the vocabularies of the languages used by the Caucasians, in Guldenstädt's, Pallas's, and Klaproth's Travels, will be found of the greatest utility.

The following account of the Ossi, Ossetes, or

Ossetinians, whose territories we again reached at Kazbék, is chiefly taken from Klaproth, and is by far the best I have met with. It is partly composed from his own observations, and is partly a compilation.

According to Pallas, the Ossetinians, who call themselves Ir, and Irones, from the name of their country, Ironistan, form a peculiar tribe, who altogether dwell among the high mountains, and whose "frontiers stretch, on the west, to Urup; on the east, to the Térek, on the northern part of the Caucasian mountains; on the west to Rion or the Phasis of the ancients, and, on the east to the Arágua, in their southern part."

Klaproth thinks that the Ossetinians are one of the most remarkable tribes of Mount Caucasus, who differ from all the rest, both in their language and their physiognomy, though they resemble them in their rude manners and their inclination to robbery. He treats at great length of the origin of this people, whom he regards "*comme étant les Sarmates-Mèdes des anciens, et comme les Alanes et les Asses du moyen age.*"

The Ossetinians were formerly governed by their princes, and inhabited the plains of the Great and the Little Kabarda, and part of the borders of the Caucasus; and, after many changes and commotions in that neighbourhood, at length took up their present residence. For an account of their history, through a long succession of years, the

reader may be referred to Klaproth's work. I only mean to allude to their present condition.

The Ossetinians are well made, strong, and generally of a middle stature. They are principally distinguished by their physiognomy, which greatly resembles that of Europeans. Blue eyes, and fair or red hair, are very common among them. Few of them have the hair altogether black. They are a healthy and prolific race. The women are generally little, and not pretty. Their faces are round, and their noses flat. They are robust; and labour and frugal nourishment render them still stronger. Those of the territory of Tagaour form an exception to this description, by their beauty and their slender figure. They resemble the Georgians, with whom their ancestors may have intermarried.

The Ossetinians dress and arm themselves after the manner of the Circassians, and rapine is their favourite occupation, as well as of the greater part of their neighbours. Young people prove their dexterity by theft, and robbery establishes their reputation: when they have committed homicide, they acquire the celebrity of a hero. They vaunt of their roguery, and they boast of assassination, or of having vengeance satiated by blood.

All the Ossetinians do not pillage in the same manner. In the valley of the Térek, and in general upon the road from Mozdók to Tiflís, they do not make regular attacks, but twenty or thirty conceal themselves in the woods, or behind

the rocks, where they wait for travellers. Each of them chooses his man, at whom he fires. Having good fusils, they rarely miss. When they have killed the greatest part of an escort, they seize the effects, and divide the spoil. The division, however, is not always made without disputes, or without effusion of blood.

When the Ossetinians set out to pillage the villages of the Circassians, they adopt the following method, so as to carry off horses, horned cattle, and sometimes even the inhabitants. From a dozen to twenty form a band, and on a wet and stormy night, they go to these villages on foot, and while part of them keep guard before the houses, and present their guns at the doors, so as to prevent the inhabitants from coming out, the rest empty the stables and cow-houses, and steal every thing they can lay hold of. This being done, they return with their booty with all possible speed. The Ossetinians, who dwell between the Térek and the Fiag, reach the habitations of the Balkars and the Tcheghems, by passes in the snow mountains, only known to themselves, and carry off all that comes in their way, and especially young girls. They keep their booty, or sell it to their neighbours, according to circumstances.

When the Ossetinians rest their guns upon something, or when they are seated on the earth, they fire well, and never miss their aim; but they are very slow in loading. When on horseback

they are obliged to alight, either to charge or to force home the ball. When they fire, they take care to choose some hiding-place, and do not waste their ammunition until they think themselves sure of their end. Their mode of defence is singular. They place themselves at some steps from one another, and each defends himself. When a retreat is resolved upon, the most advanced fires his gun, and withdraws behind the rest to load it again, until they reach some mountain-path which is well known to them, and then they make their escape.

Although the Ossetinians be such determined robbers, they, as well as all the other tribes of the Caucasus, have the strictest regard to the laws of hospitality, (called *Koonák*, as formerly mentioned,) and scarcely an example has occurred in which they have been violated. If any one is guilty of such a crime, the whole village assembles to judge him. He is almost always condemned to be precipitated, his hands and feet being bound together, from the top of a rock into a river.

A stranger, who arrives at an Ossetinian village, is sure of being well treated during his stay; all his wants are attended to; he is treated in every way as a relative. But if he leave the village without an escort, he runs the risk of being pillaged by the same men whose hospitality he had shared the preceding evening. This people have a saying that, "He whom we meet in the way is given

us by God!" If the prisoner has the means, he may purchase his liberty by a sum of money, or by an equivalent in arms or cattle. The bargain concluded, he is under the safeguard of their hospitality; and the village in which he had been taken, is always obliged to defend him.

The Ossetinians do not treat their prisoners badly, except when they endeavour to escape.

When a stranger arrives at the house of an Ossetinian, the landlord hastens to kill a sheep, to have it roasted, and served up whole. While he eats, the master of the house generally remains near the door with a stick in his hand, and does not partake of the repast. He would sacrifice all to defend his guest, and to avenge any outrage upon him; he would have no repose till he had killed his murderer. That vengeance which demands blood for blood, and which, generally, prevails throughout the Caucasus, is carried to the highest degree by the Ossetinians. When an Ossetinian has avenged the death of one of his parents, or of his guest, he betakes himself to his grave, and announces with a loud voice that he has killed the murderer, and avenged the death of the deceased. This kind of vengeance is hereditary; it even descends from the grandfather to the grandson, and is often the cause of hostilities among the villages. Although it could not be entirely abolished, this custom is sometimes suspended for a time by presents made to the offended party.

The murderer takes refuge in a fortified tower, where, along with some of his associates, he defends himself against the attacks of the relatives of him who has been killed. From thence he sends to the *Elder* of the village, who assembles the relations, and persuades them to conclude a treaty of peace with their adversaries. By it the murderer is bound to give a certain number of sheep or oxen to those offended; and they are bound, on oath, to leave him tranquil during the time of the treaty. This treaty is sometimes renewed by mutual consent.

Few examples of polygamy are met with among the Ossetinians. The rich, whether Mahometans or Christians, are the only individuals who have two, and sometimes three, wives.

When an Ossetinian wishes to marry, he sends one of his relations or friends to the father, to ask his daughter of him. If the parties agree about the dowry, which generally consists of fire-arms, sabres, poniards, cattle, &c., a feast of three days' duration follows.

The Ossetinians are very strict respecting virginity, but after marriage it is reckoned honourable for a woman to have a number of lovers.

The religion of the Ossetinians is the same as among all the mountain tribes. It is a singular *mélange* of Mahometanism, Christianity, and ancient superstitions. It is evident that the Osse-

tinians give considerable attention, even yet, to some of the festivities of the Christian church.

The oaths of the Ossetinians are very singular. When they are accused of theft, they generally swear by a dog, a cat, or the dead. The accused with a dog, runs throughout the village, and cries with a loud voice, "I am about to kill this dog." After which, the real thief generally avows his fault, because it is believed, that to participate in the death of a dog would lead to misfortune. It often happens, that he who takes an oath cuts off the head of a cat, or hangs a dog, saying that the animal will avenge itself of the perjured person, by scratching, biting, and tormenting the guilty. Whoever suspects one of his neighbours to have stolen, conducts him to the place where his relations are interred; and the accused placing himself near the tomb of his father, mother, or brother, cries out, "If I have stolen, I wish to serve as a horse in the other world to my father, my mother, or my brother; but if I am innocent, may that punishment fall upon the guilty."

When an Ossetinian dies, all his relations assemble. The men uncover the head and the hips, and lash themselves till blood appears, and the women scratch their faces, bite their arms, and cry in a dreadful manner. The wife of the deceased ought to be more violent than the rest, and to abstain for a year from all kinds of meat and other things prohibited during the fast. Generally, her

husband's brother espouses her, even when he has another wife, with the view of preserving the property in the family.

Every family has its own sepulchre, which, among some tribes, is an immense square building, with a very narrow entrance. Two men enter it, drawing after them the body of the deceased, stretched upon planks. When it is entirely consumed, they mix the bones with those of others of the family.*

Many of the above observations are as applicable to a number of the other tribes of the Caucasus, as to the Ossetinians. Indeed, I strongly suspect, that no author has ever had the requisite knowledge to enable him completely to distinguish the peculiar customs and manners even of the principal races.

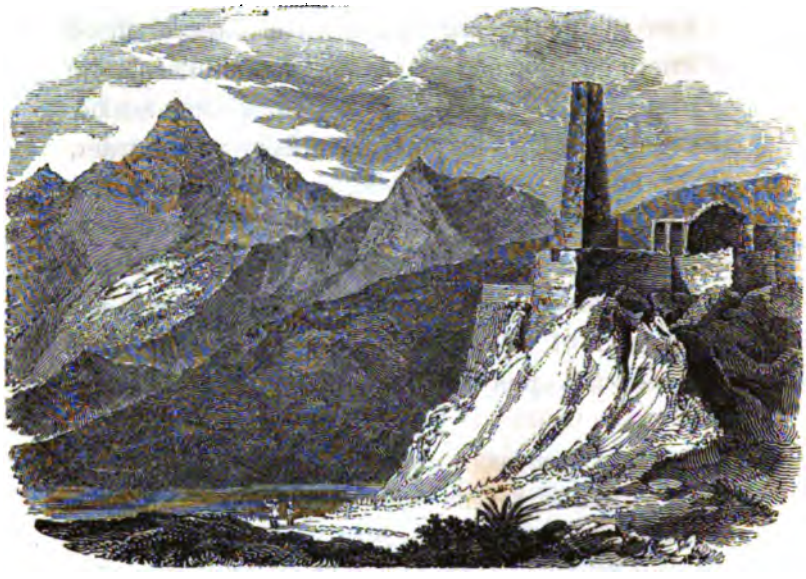
With a few remarks from Sir R. K. Porter respecting the Ossetinians, which differ but little from the foregoing statements, I shall conclude this chapter.

"The natives in this neighbourhood, (Kazbék,) are of the Ossi tribe; a people of mixed persuasions, Christian, Mahometan, and pagan. The village of Kasbeck, as well as a few others in its immediate vicinity, is inhabited by Christians professing the same faith and observances as the Georgians." — "It is said, that the present race

* Vide Voyage au Caucase et en Georgie, vol. ii. p. 223.

of Ossi Christians are amongst the most civilised of the mountaineers. This may be; but, in spite of their better faith, and better laws, they are occasionally not less expert at robbery and murder, than their brethren of Mahometan and heathen creeds. The men are strong, active, and well made, with dark complexions, and a peculiarly lowering look, an aspect more accordant with the latter part of their character, than that of their pretensions to piety, and its consequent blameless life.

"The Ossetinians are habited in the manner of the Circassians, and never appear without the common weapon of the country, a dagger in their girdle. Its form is broad near the handle, tapering down to a long point, the whole being about eighteen inches in length. In short, there is a general appearance of offence and defence in every thing we see, which must always be the case as we retrograde nearer to man in a state of nature, where the law of force has not yet given place to the law of reason: every body is armed, every house is a sort of little fortress."



CHAP. XVIII.

FORTRESSES OF THE CAUCASUS. — WARLIKE APPEARANCE OF THE INHABITANTS. — DARIÉL. — FALL OF ROCK INTO THE TÉREK. — NEW ROAD. — MOUNTAIN PASS. — LARS. — VLADIKAVKÁZ. — CARE OF TRAVELLERS. — COLONEL SKVARTSÓF. — GENERAL DEL POZZO. — DEPARTURE. — ELIZABETH REDOUBT. — ADVENTURE. — CONSTANTINE REDOUBT. — FERRY OF THE TÉREK. — MOZDÓK. — ACCIDENT. — GÉORGIÉVSK. — BESHPAGHÍR. — STÁVROPOLE. — QUARANTINE OF SRÉDNOYÉ-YEGORLÍTSKOYÉ. — ITS DESCRIPTION. — RELEASE. — HONOURABLE AND DISHONOURABLE CONDUCT. — DEPARTURE. — NIJNI-YEGORLÍTSKOYÉ. — THE DON. — AKSÄI. — NÓVO-TCHERKÁSK. — VISIT TO GENERAL ILOVÄISKII. — ROAD TO STÁRO-TCHERKÁSK. — HISTORY AND SITUATION OF THIS TOWN. — ITS FORMER POPULATION. — ABSURDLY COMPARED TO VENICE. — ITS PRESENT STATE. — ITS CATHEDRAL AND INUNDATIONS. — ITS DECLINE. — RETURN TO NÓVO-TCHERKÁSK. — DINNER AT GENERAL

ILOVÄISKII'S.—COLONEL NOZIKÓMOF.—THE *UPRAVLÉNIYÉ*.—FOUNDATION OF NÓVO-TCHERKÁSK. — PLATÓF'S PLAN.— SITUATION OF NÓVO-TCHERKÁSK INJUDICIOUS.—DESCRIPTION OF NÓVO-TCHERKÁSK. — ITS POPULATION. — PUBLIC BUILDINGS. — GENERAL REMARKS RESPECTING THE KOZÁKS. — THEIR MILITARY CHARACTER.

I HAVE frequently had occasion to allude to the general warlike appearance which prevails in the Caucasus. There, indeed, almost every village may be said to be fortified, having a court with high stone walls, from which arises a tower, generally of a tapering square form. To these forts the inhabitants were wont to betake themselves for refuge, in former times, when divisions and warfare were more frequent among the mountain tribes than at present. They still remain as the safeguards of the more accessible parts of the Caucasus, and some of them are kept in good repair. In case of an attack by a regular army, they would only be of momentary use, and the natives, no doubt, would then desert them, and trust alone for safety, to the fastnesses of the surrounding mountains. In order that the reader may have an accurate idea of these fortified villages, I have caused a view of one of them to be placed at the commencement of the present chapter. It was taken near Kazbék, and well illustrates the nature of the alpine scenery by which that place is surrounded.

Another circumstance is very striking to the

traveller. Among the mountains of the Caucasus, as well as in the adjoining plains on the north, and in Georgia on the south, every individual is armed when he quits his habitation. Even boys are furnished with daggers and swords, the use of which they are taught, at a very early age, so as to be prepared for offence or defence. Pistols and muskets are carried, at all times, by every man in the regions alluded to. They are even the accompaniments of those at the plough, in the farm-yard, or employed in other rural or domestic affairs. Almost every traveller we meet, whatever be his rank, description, or country, is accoutred as if he were in active service, or as if the country was in a state of warfare. These appearances produce very unsocial feelings, and cause the stranger to such customs to look upon every individual he sees with suspicion, and even with jealousy. Here, of course, every man must be on the alert, and look to his own safety. I shall never forget the strange impression made upon my mind, on meeting a *mohla* — clothed in scarlet and with a white turban upon his head, — and his servant, with daggers in their girdles, and guns slung across their backs in one of the defiles of Georgia. But I must return to our journey.

The morning of the 5th July was very fresh, and in the night we had felt cold. We left Kazbék, and with a few trifling showers reached the fortress of Dariél. The commandant, to whom we had

despatched a letter from General Wilyemínof the preceding evening, though it had been received only about an hour before our arrival, had made preparations for us. He gave us twenty workmen, and ten soldiers as a guard. After proceeding about a verst, we were obliged to dismount and walk. We crossed a temporary bridge from the west to the east bank of the Térek, and the workmen transported our luggage, for the horses could proceed no farther. We now approached the *avalanche*, or rather land-slip formerly alluded to *, an enormous quantity of fragments of rock, large and small, which had fallen from the adjoining mountain on the 23d June, and blocked up the Térek so that it rose many feet above its usual level. By this accident the bed of the river was permanently raised to a considerable height, and the arched way blasted and cut out of the solid rock on its west side, and which is said to have cost ten years' labour, was completely under water. † Under the directions of a Russian major and engineer, who gave us every information, a new road was making on the east bank of the Térek, it being calculated that the trouble of doing so would be infinitely less than to clear away the rocks and stones, so as to restore the river to its former level. Nearly 300 men were daily employed for this purpose, which was soon completed,

* Vide Vol. I. p. 503. † Ibid, p. 470.

and the temporary bridge by which we regained the west bank of the Térek, as well as the other above mentioned, I understand has been since replaced by a permanent bridge.

On the west side of the river there is, however, another pass to Dariél, but it is extremely difficult and no less than three or four hours are said to be requisite for advancing between two and three versts. The ascent is gained in some places by climbing, and in others by the assistance of ropes. Horses occasionally pass by this road, but the experiment is not made without danger. A few days before our arrival, one was killed on the spot, in consequence of having tumbled down the precipice.

In consequence of previous orders, we were met by horses from Lars, which place we soon reached, accompanied by ten soldiers and two Kozáks. After our departure from Lars, leaving the soldiers with our servant and the luggage, we rode on with the two Kozáks, against the rules of travelling in these districts. We were stopped at Maksímkina, and the officer stationed there said he would report us for going without a convoy; but we got off, and reached Vladikavkáz in safety.

At first we could not conceive the extreme earnestness of the officers that we should be so well guarded; but we afterwards learned, that they are responsible for all travellers on their portion of the way assigned to conduct them, and that for care-

lessness in the execution of this duty, or want of conformity to the laws, some of them had been reduced to the ranks.

Having no wish to repeat a three days' march from Vladikavkáz to Mozdók, we made arrangements with Colonel Skvartsóf, and a particular escort was ordered for us. That gentleman was busily occupied in carrying into execution some of the plans of General Yermólof, to reduce the neighbouring mountain tribes to greater tranquillity; and his severe measures were said to have been attended with considerable success. The Colonel has been stationed many years in the regions of the Caucasus, and must have a considerable knowledge of the duties which his important station requires, though not equal to that of his predecessor, General del Pozzo, who resided for a long time at Vladikavkáz, and whose history is extremely interesting. Though an Italian by birth, he passed the greatest part of his manhood in the Russian service. To his knowledge and activity, Russia is chiefly indebted for the security with which she now holds the key of this part of Asia. He understood the country well, and the people who inhabit it. He selected the best stations for a commanding line of military posts. This intimate acquaintance with the different tribes was of great use. Having been in secret communication with certain natives in each district, he was enabled, by their information, to frustrate schemes

of intended warfare or depredation; and often to come at the knowledge of the existence and places of captivity of unfortunate travellers, who had become their prisoners. These latter advantages were dearly purchased by the General, who himself was taken by the Tchitchéntsi, and remained nearly a year their prisoner*; during which period he endured many hardships.

On the 6th of July, at four o'clock in the morning, the infantry appeared, and were despatched before us. We took possession of our carriages again, and, escorted by a party of Kozáks, we proceeded at a quick trot, and soon came up with the infantry. A gun, which had been sent for from the next station, met us, and joined the convoy. We proceeded about ten versts at a slow pace, when we left the infantry and cannon to come up at leisure, while we continued our route more rapidly with a Kozák guard, and reached the redoubt of Elizabeth. There we dined in the same good rooms which we had formerly occupied. A *convoy billet* was presented for our signature, stating that we had reached the station in safety, with a guard of a staff-captain, two under officers, one drummer, forty soldiers, fifteen Kozáks, and a cannon. The truth is, that we had not above half that number of infantry,

* Vide Sir R. K. Porter's Travels, and Letters from the Caucasus.

and only about ten Kozáks; but such is the universal practice in Russia. Our guard were highly pleased at receiving a ten-rouble note to be divided among them as drink-money.

We sent off the new convoy from Elizabeth redoubt, and followed it after a short repose. At the foot of the hills, while we were walking with the officer at the head of the guard, one of the Kozáks came galloping up, and with a serious face informed us, that there were a number of horsemen upon the hills, and that he suspected they were enemies. The officer mounted his horse; the convoy was ordered to halt; and a general bustle ensued. We betook ourselves to our carriages, to look for such arms as we had, though far from desirous of an opportunity to make use of them. Some of the Kozáks were despatched to make a *reconnoissance;* a signal was made — by riding from right to left in a semicircle,—which being answered, it was found that the horsemen were Kozáks returning to Elizabeth redoubt.*

We never quitted the convoy to-day, because, in ascending the range of hills spoken of on our advance†, the carriages sometimes required the assistance of the soldiers. As we reached its sum-

* Sir R. K. Porter alludes to a similar adventure. It may be questioned whether there may not be some plan in these manœuvres, so as to augment the fear of passing through the Caucasus.

† Vide Vol. I. p. 461.

mit, a thunder-storm took place, with heavy rain, and continued till we arrived at the fort of Constantine in the evening, where we enjoyed a good supper in our wretched quarters, into which numerous streams poured on all sides. The officer who had been with us, was extremely civil, and showed a considerable degree of intelligence. He was particularly anxious to have a map of the Caucasus and Georgia, which we could not give him, as our own were still necessary. It might excite surprise that each of the stations was not supplied with such a map, for the sake of the officers.

On the 7th of July, a similar convoy having preceded us, we left Constantine fort, at half past five in the morning; and, having come up with them, we continued together till we had crossed the mountains; when the young officer reluctantly consented to allow us to proceed at a trot to Alexander's redoubt, which we did not enter, but proceeded directly to the Térek. One of the carriages having crossed the ferry, the other was detained two hours, in consequence of the men not having secured the rope when we reached the opposite side. The ferry-boat and rowers, with our servant and carriage, were carried away by the rapidity of the Térek. We ourselves had landed, and it was not with pleasant emotions we beheld them sailing between Europe and Asia. After descending to some distance, by the efforts

of the rowers, they reached a sand-bank, and we procured assistance and oxen, which dragged up the ferry-boat to the landing-place.

The ferry of the Térek is the most difficult and dangerous I ever saw; owing to the depth, the breadth, and the rapidity of the river. But I presume it is now better regulated, as we saw an immense cable which was to be placed across the river, by which the ferry-boats were to be directed in future, and similar accidents would thus be prevented. The horses being put to, we passed the quarantine, having been informed that it was unnecessary to remain there, as it was matter of notoriety that there was no pestilential disease in the south. We got to Mozdók, and employed the remainder of the day in making arrangements and laying in stores of provisions. We also received back our *podorójnés*, which we had left with Colonel Kotíref, and an order for a Kozák guard.

On the 8th of July we left Mozdók, at four o'clock in the morning. As it had rained a great deal in the night, the road was very heavy, and we retraced our route much less speedily than we had advanced. During the last station, one of our horses dropped down, and the coachman remained behind to take care of it; but our servant took his place, and we reached the Podkúma. We remarked that this broad river was very large in consequence of the rain; and that oxen, yoked

in *telégas* and led by a man on horseback, swam through it. The postilion, who pretended he knew the fordable part of the Podkúma and its sand-banks, proceeded but a short way, when the carriage stuck fast in a deep hole, and leaned so much to one side as to threaten an overturn. During the efforts made to extricate us, the pole was broken, and also the harness. Two Kozáks came to our assistance, and we escaped by the window and got upon horseback. About fifteen soldiers waded to us, and two fresh horses were brought, by whose combined assistance the carriage reached the other side, when we drove to our old lodgings in Gèörgiévsk.

On the 10th of July we left Gèörgiévsk, at five o'clock in the morning. This was one of the most disagreeable days' journeys which we had. A gentleman's carriages, which required twelve horses, preceded us, so that at a number of the stations there were none left for us. At Alexándrié we were detained two hours and obliged to hire. At Alexandrovsk we paid double fare, to get a-head of the gentleman alluded to; and on reaching Beshpaghir, at half past nine in the evening, we were compelled to make up our minds to sleeping in the carriage, in consequence of the deceit and roguery of the post-master; who, it was evident, would not give us horses before the morning.

The inhabitants in this part of the government

of the Caucasus, are mostly Russians from the governments of Koursk and Kharkof. *

On the 11th of July we breakfasted at Stávropole, whence we were to travel over a route new to us, toward Moscow. The road, during the first station from this town to Moskóvskaya, is a good deal up and down hill, but after that village, it runs over nearly a dead flat, or immense *step*, all the way to Srédnoyé-Yegorlítskoyé. The eye wanders over unbounded pastures, among which, hay-stacks, and corn-fields, indicate the neighbourhood of a village. Upon the whole it is an uninteresting and naked country. The soil is good, however, and, were there hands to cultivate it, would yield fine crops.

Dónskoi, and Bezopásnoi, are very large villages, and some of the other stations are of considerable size. Their excellent and gaudy churches cheer the heart amid the bleakness of nature.

Having travelled all night, we reached the quarantine of Srédnoyé-Yegorlítskoyé, about eight o'clock in the morning of the 12th of July.

In consequence of not having taken a certificate at the quarantine of Mozdók, or from the *Gorodnîtchii* of Gèörgiévsk or Stávropole, although we had a letter from the police-master of Gèörgiévsk, contrary to our expectations, we were

* Lettres écrites dans un Voyage de Moscow au Caucase, by Kimmel, p. 38.

obliged to enter the quarantine. We proposed to send a courier to the *Atamán* of the Don Kozáks, in whose territories we now were, and for whom we had letters; but the officers of the establishment thought it would be a more speedy way of arranging our affair, to send to the *Gorodnítchii* of Stávropole. A Kozák was accordingly despatched, and we had nearly three days to spend at this miserable place; a title it has received from all travellers, and which it well merits, notwithstanding the improvements made within the last few years.

The situation of this quarantine is the worst imaginable, in the middle of a perfect marsh, especially in wet weather, as was the case during our residence. It is overgrown with long rank grass, and a profusion of weeds. The rivulet, Yegorlík, is often stagnant, and owes its name to the disagreeable odour which it emits. * It seems the most likely place possible for catching an intermittent fever, and the attention of the Russian government ought to be called to its real demerits. The water there is so bad as to produce disease, and the physician attached to the establishment assured us, that he sent twenty versts for all that used in his family.

The quarantine occupies some acres of land,

* The river may well be called the *Vanutchoi Yegorlík*, or Stinking Yegorlík.

and is surrounded by an earthen rampart and a deep ditch. A few years ago, a dozen new wooden houses, all one story in height, were erected, each of which is divided into two dwellings. Each dwelling contains two rooms, with a stove between them, besides an antechamber, with a large oven, which may serve as a kitchen. Each of these houses is surrounded by a ditch, and has a kind of garden, or rather waste ground, around it. The storehouses, fumigation-rooms, &c., occupy another part of the enclosure; and the houses of the chief, the commissary, the physician, &c., are at some distance. From the merchant who supplies the quarantine we received good articles, though rather at a high price, as was to be expected.

In reading, writing, and conversation, we had here sufficient occupation; and at the same time a short interval of leisure from our fatiguing journey.

Having obtained permission, I sallied one day from the quarantine, and reached the adjoining church and village, neither of which are of great importance. The wooden church is founded upon a green hill, like a tumulus rising out of the plain, and commands an extensive view.

On the 14th of July, our messenger arrived in the afternoon with a certificate, said to be from the *Gorodnítchii* of Stávropole, that no pestilential disease prevailed in the countries through which we had travelled.

Besides the inconvenience and loss of time caused by nearly three days' residence at the quarantine, the expenses of the messenger amounted to seventy-five roubles. This may prove a useful hint to future travellers to furnish themselves with certificates in coming from the southern provinces of Asia, either at Mozdók, Gèorgiévsk, or Stávropole.

The news of liberty instantly spread cheerfulness through the party; all hands were at work in packing up, and horses were easily procured. We settled our accounts, and found the *commissary* as unwilling to accept of a present for his obliging conduct, as he had been determined in refusing the bribe we offered at our arrival, to induce him to allow us to proceed on our route. I rejoice in making such an assertion. Another individual, however, was less ceremonious. As he had boasted his honourable conduct and incapability of corruption, we did not wish to offend him by a present. Finding himself thus treated, he asked me to speak with him; and, under a very poor pretence, prayed for assistance, which was immediately granted him.

At eight o'clock in the evening of the 14th of July, we crossed the Yegorlík, by a small bridge, and were fairly *en route*. The road was heavy, the horses bad, the night dark, and the coachman a stupid fellow. We soon lost our way in the fields, and the carriage stuck fast in a hole.

We were obliged to alight, and assist in extricating it, and then, by groping about, to search for the road. Having at length succeeded, we walked to the station called Nijni-Yegorlítskoyé. A courier, with four *telégas*, had just arrived there, who was on his way to Tiflís with stores and property for General Yermólof. He required twelve horses; and, of course, was served before us: so that we were detained some time. We travelled all night, and in the evening of the 15th, reached Nóvo-Tcherkásk.

The road from Srédnoyé-Yegorlítskoyé to the banks of the Don is mostly *step*, with considerable undulations of surface however, and for the most part fruitful. Many of the villages on the post-road, and in the neighbouring country, are small. They are called *stanítsas*, and are inhabited by the Don Kozáks.

The banks of the Don afforded us some fine views; and being covered by numerous villas and country houses, gardens and plantations, formed a delightful contrast to the desolate country and monotonous plains through which we had passed from Beshpaghír. We crossed the Don (nearly a quarter of a mile in breadth,) by means of an excellent floating bridge, and soon reached Aksăi.

Aksăi, though it bears the name of a Kozák *stanítsa*, or village, in reality is more worthy the name of town than many places which have such an appellation in Russia. It is situated upon the

declivity of a hill; and in the spring, when the Don overflows its banks and is ten miles in breadth, it must have a magnificent appearance at a distance. Its streets are extremely irregular, but it contains a number of excellent houses, many of them built of brick, after the style of those in the chief towns in the empire.

In Aksăi are a number of merchants, who carry on an active commerce upon the Don, particularly in dried fish, which are disposed of at an exceedingly low price, and are afterwards transported by that river to different parts of the empire. The Don, as is well known, is most prolific in fish of various kinds, which are seldom found any where in such perfection.*

The road from Aksăi to Nóvo-Tcherkásk, is through a hilly country, in a great measure destitute of wood, but abounding in pastures and cornfields, with a few scattered villages. The Don forms, as it were, the line of demarcation between the northern hilly country, and the southern *steps*.

We took up our quarters for the night at Nóvo-Tcherkásk.

On the 16th July we breakfasted at a very early hour, and then proceeded to the house of the Atamán of the Don Kozáks, General Ilovăiskii. †

* Vide Clarke's Travels, p. 274. where a number of them are enumerated.

† General Ilovăiskii, as well as his five brothers, and other members of the family, were extremely active during the French

After the death of Platóf, his Excellency A. K. Denisof was nominated his successor; but he held the situation only for a very short time, and was succeeded by the present Atamán.

General Ilovăiskii's house stands on the banks of the Touslof, in what may be reckoned a pretty situation in a country nearly destitute of wood and romantic scenery. It is a building of a very respectable appearance. On entering the hall we found a number of officers, and of the functionaries of the town, including the police-master, assembled for the purpose of complimenting their chief, and of arranging their affairs. One of the Atamán's adjutants took our letters of introduction, and announced our arrival to the Atamán, who gave us a most polite reception. After a good deal of conversation, we rose with a view to depart, perceiving that he was busily employed. We had spoken of going to Stáro-Tcherkásk, and he immediately ordered an equipage to be prepared for us. At the same time, he invited us to dinner on our return.

We descended the hill on which Nóvo-Tcherkásk stands, crossed the Aksăi by a good wooden bridge, and soon reached Míshkin, the estate of the late Count Platóf, which is described and represented in the next chapter.

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campaign, and some of them highly distinguished themselves. The Atamán acquired many laurels by his bravery.

After passing Míshkin, the road made many windings to and from the banks of the Aksăi, on account of deep marshes. We found it tolerably good, the summer being far advanced, but in the spring and autumn, as it leads over a dead flat, it must be almost impassable, except in *telégas*, or on horseback.

We soon reached Stáro-Tcherkásk, and were kindly received by the good old mother of General Ilovăiskii, to whom we were recommended.

Tcherkásk, now called *Stáro-Tcherkásk* (*i. e.* Old Tcherkásk) in contra-distinction to *Nóvo-Tcherkásk* (*i. e.* New Tcherkásk), which is described hereafter, was once a place of great importance.* It was the capital of the Kozáks of the Don, and the residence of their Atamán, the chief *dépôt* of their military stores, and the place of safety in which all their property was collected in time of war. It was also the seat of their government, and the palladium of their liberty.

Stáro-Tcherkásk was founded in the year 1570, and formed of eleven *stanítsas*. It lies on the right bank of the Don, and is surrounded by a small river, named Vassiltevka, which, leaving a branch of the Don, called Aksăi, again joins this river not far from Stáro-Tcherkásk, so that this town is partly insulated. From its low marshy situation it is very

* To prevent all confusion, I shall always use the appellations Stáro-Tcherkásk, and Nóvo-Tcherkásk.—Vide Note, p. 210. of this Vol. Note.

unhealthy, and is every year inundated, so that the lower story of the houses is filled with water, and the inhabitants visit each other in boats. This inundation takes place at the beginning of April, and continues till the end of June.

About twenty years ago, the number of inhabitants of Stáro-Tcherkásk amounted to 10,000 souls, and some say to 15,000; but it is now wonderfully diminished.

Dr. Clarke has given a very interesting account of Stáro-Tcherkásk, illustrated by a view of the approach to this capital, and another of its interior during an inundation. This author tells us, that Stáro-Tcherkásk, "although not so grand as Venice, somewhat resembles that city." Dr. Kimmel also says, "Le vieux Tcherkask sous bien des rapports, mérite le titre de Venise d'Asie." And the author of *Letters from the Caucasus* states, "that Stáro-Tcherkásk is another Venice." Though I have never seen Venice, I know it pretty well from numerous plates and descriptions; and I can scarcely conceive how any comparison could be made between it and the former paltry capital of the Don Kozáks. A mean town, completely inundated, can only have a resemblance to a magnificent city every where intersected by fine canals, in the simple circumstance of boats being every where seen with the inhabitants passing and re-passing among the houses.

The glory of Stáro-Tcherkásk is now past, and

its fame eclipsed by that of Nóvo-Tcherkásk. At present its inhabitants do not exceed 2000 in number. It contains a few good houses, but whole streets present nothing but irregularity, meanness, and dirt. The few remaining churches, some of them with golden domes, are the only objects which give life to the view. Among these is the old cathedral, which, as is shown by a Sclavonic inscription in one of its galleries, was founded in 1706, and finished in 1719, and dedicated to the Trinity, It is built after the model of the Russian cathedrals; its screen is one of the richest I have seen, and the holy doors are of beautifully worked silver. Sometimes the Don inundates its foundation, rising twelve, fifteen, or more feet above its usual level. On one of the corners of this edifice is a brass plate, indicating the height to which the water reached at different epochs. Great floods took place in 1720, 1740, 1760, and 1786; in the last year about three feet of the wall was under water.

All the authorities, the tribunals, and the government of the country of the Don Kozáks, have been transported from Stáro-Tcherkásk to Nóvo-Tcherkásk, so that while the former town is going to ruin, the latter is augmenting its edifices and its population, and daily becoming of more importance.

On our return to Nóvo-Tcherkásk, we found the Atamán engaged in a party at *boston* with some officers of high rank, and were introduced to his

lady. During conversation the party was joined by a number more officers, and dinner was then served up in good style, in a handsome apartment. Among other wines, that of the Don, which was very old, was much liked by all present. Having drank coffee, and signified our wish to depart, we were informed that a calash and four was at our disposal.

General Ilovăiskii is a polished gentleman, whose manners are pleasing and elegant. He does not speak French, and has less of French manners than many other officers who were in the last campaign. He has acquired a little German, but our conversation was all in Russian. His kindness demands our gratitude.

At the Atamán's we got acquainted with Colonel Nozikómof, who for many years was intimately attached to Count Platóf, and who spoke of him with the utmost enthusiasm. We followed the Colonel to his fine house in Alexander's *Plôstchad*, or place, and he treated us with some delightful Don wine, which had been in his cellar for many years.

After visiting different objects of curiosity, Colonel Nozikómof next carried us to the *Upravléniyé*, or general administration, a large new plain edifice. In this building are assembled the offices of all the chief functionaries of the country of the Don Kozáks. In the council-room, where the Atamán and head-court have their meetings, are

contained the national regalia. Among these we remarked the standard and mace of the Atamán; letters patent and standards, from the Emperor Alexander, splendidly adorned, which were sent as testimonials of the service of the Kozáks in various engagements; autograph copies of Platóf's addresses to his army; and especially an address to his own regiment, &c.

In the above edifice is also the chancery, which consists of three *expeditions*, or departments; the military, the civil, and the economical. The names of the two first explain themselves; to the latter belongs all that respects taxes and accounts. *

In consequence of the unhealthy situation of Stáro-Tcherkásk, and the inconvenience, damage, and loss of lives consequent upon its annual inundation, about the year 1807, the government decided to build a new town, and to transport the inhabitants of the old one to it. Many plans were proposed to His Imperial Majesty Alexander, who finally approved that of Count Platóf; according to which the town has been built, under the management of an Italian architect named Rusca.† The inhabitants, by habit, had become insensible of the dangers which threatened them at Stáro-Tcherkásk, and for the best of reasons were extremely

* Great Dictionary of the Russian Empire, vol. vii. p. 82.

† Plans of the principal edifices are contained in Mr. Rusca's work, which is entitled, *Recueil des Desseins des Differens Bâtimens, à Saint Petersbourg*, 2 vols. fol. St. Petersburg. 1810.

averse to remove from the banks of the Don, which afforded the means of carrying on an extensive commerce.

Nóvo-Tcherkásk is situated upon a hill, upon the right bank of the Aksăi, and on the borders of a small river which disembogues into it, called Touslof.* It is fifteen or sixteen versts distant from Stáro-Tcherkásk. It commands a view of an extensive plain watered by the Don and the Aksăi, as well as of the towns of Stáro-Tcherkásk, Aksăi, Rostóf, and Naktshiván. It is in contemplation to cut a canal to the Don, so as to facilitate the communications, and admit of supplies, as provisions, comparatively speaking, are dearer than they were at the old town. The inhabitants both of Stáro-Tcherkásk and Nóvo-Tcherkásk, regret, and apparently with much reason, that the seat of their government was not transported to Aksăi. The removal of the population of Stáro-Tcherkásk from the banks of so important a river as the Don to the interior of the country, showed but little judgment in Platóf, and I am surprised that the Russian government should not have negatived his proposal. It ought to have been remembered, that a large navigable river is one of the first sources of wealth to every town, by the facilities which it affords for supplies of provisions and other necessaries, as well as to trade in general. There

* Part of this town is seen in the Vignette to next chapter.

can be no doubt that the new town ought to have been built on the Don, in one of the many fine and elevated situations which present themselves, and which are exempt at all times from inundations. But the present Nóvo-Tcherkásk was the favourite object of Count Platóf, who in his life overcame all difficulties, and hurried on its establishment.

Nóvo-Tcherkásk extends nearly five versts in length, and has a handsome appearance. At the extremities of its principal street, which is extremely broad, are erected elegant triumphal gates of hewn stone, noticed hereafter. All the streets are in straight lines, but are neither paved nor lighted. One part of the town lies upon the declivity of the hill, but the finest is upon its summit. The houses are far apart from each other, mostly built of wood, but a number also of brick. The churches are constructed of wood, and the foundation of a large stone cathedral has been some years laid. A large place, called Alexander's *Plóstchad*, is surrounded by some good buildings, and here the foundation of a palace, which Platóf had destined for himself, is also remarked.

In the year 1812, the number of inhabitants of Nóvo-Tcherkásk amounted to 2000 or 2,500; but, in 1822, if the master of police informed us correctly, it had increased to no less than 8000 souls. Perhaps, however, 5000 or 6000, may be a calculation nearer the truth, as there was evidently a

disposition among the inhabitants, and persons in office, to represent this town in the most prosperous condition. The greater part of the inhabitants are Kozáks; but the Tartars, who formerly inhabited Stáro-Tcherkásk, were transported hither, and have a suburb for themselves, and a mosque for their service. There are also a few Kalmucks here.

At Nóvo-Tcherkásk there is a gymnasium, in which are taught the Latin, German, and French languages, history, geography, mathematics, philosophy, &c.; the *Upravléniyé*, already noticed; an hospital, which is said to contain 120 beds; an apothecary-shop, which belongs to the crown; and an arsenal; all deserving attention.

The Kozáks profess the same religion, and speak the same language, as the Russians. There are many Roskólniks among them, who have a peculiar accent in their pronunciation. The customs and government, however, of the country of the Donites, differ greatly from those of the Russians. The Kozáks are all free; they know not the distinction of lord and slave. They are a pastoral people, and their chief riches consist in their cattle and their horses. On the Don they are also great fishers, and carry on a considerable traffic. It is only of late years that some of the rich Kozáks have received slaves from the Emperor, or have bought them, to till their lands. The Kozáks are not good agriculturists. They cultivate the vine, especially near Stáro-Tcherkásk from which they

make both red and white wine, which has been already mentioned

The country of the Don Kozáks forms one of the governments of Russia, and its population is stated by some at 318,900 souls. It contains 2976 geographical square miles, and, consequently, 107 individuals for each of these miles. According to Yablóvskii, however, its population does not exceed 250,000 souls. Although subject to Russia, yet this country preserves its ancient rights. The Kozáks pay no taxes, but they furnish troops, which they support at their own expence, except in foreign countries. Almost every individual employed in the affairs of the government of the country of the Don Kozáks belongs to it, and is named by the Atamán. This chief can only advance to the rank of colonel, but such a rank merely holds in the army of the Don. It is necessary that the Emperor confirm every rank, or that he give another to any individual, that he may enjoy the same prerogatives as those who have the same rank in the Russian army. In consequence of this, it often happens that a colonel of the Kozáks is only a major in the imperial army.

For some years there has existed a hereditary nobility, created by the Emperor. The son of such a noble is at first an under-officer, but otherwise does not enjoy any privilege in his country. The humblest Kozák has the hope of arriving at the highest rank, and even of becoming Atamán. The

Atamán is named by the Emperor for life, though he may be changed at His Majesty's pleasure.

The Kozáks of the Don, as well as other tribes of Kozáks, may be reckoned to form a kind of military colonies, and perhaps gave the idea of the present system of military colonisation which is carrying on in the south of Russia, and the particulars of which I have described in a pamphlet. They are a pastoral and military people, who, besides guarding their own territories, are scattered over various parts of the empire, and especially where a mixed civil and military duty is required, as about the public institutions, prisons, custom-houses, barriers, &c., of the capitals and towns. They also form piquets and guards in the Caucasus and Georgia.

Many contradictory accounts have been given as to the courage and utility of the Kozáks. By some they have been described as formidable warriors, by others as miserable cavalry. They seem to be well fitted for guarding the frontiers of an enemy, their vigilance and activity being beyond all question. But it is generally believed that they cannot stand a charge of infantry, nor even resist that of cavalry. The Russian officers in the Caucasus will seldom entrust themselves entirely to the protection of the Kozáks in passing any dangerous defile, while they have no fear in doing so, when guarded by a few Russian infantry. The real

nature of the service of the Kozáks may be inferred from the two following quotations.

"The Kozáks were long known as a predatory set of people, who had been addicted to plunder on the shores of the Black Sea. They spread alarm even in Constantinople and in Asia Minor. Amurath the Great used to say, that, in spite of all the potentates in Europe, he could sleep on both ears, but those gadflies (the Kozáks) would scarcely suffer him to sleep on either." *

"The character and habits of the regular troops or Kozáks of the Don, *cette milice belliqueuse et infatigable*, are singularly well adapted for a guerilla warfare, and always formed the troops of the *partisans*, who were able officers, and whose operations were favoured by the hostile dispositions of the peasantry toward the French. They proved most ruinous to their enemies by cutting off their resources for provisions and attacking their foraging parties, who dared scarcely venture five versts from their camp." †

* Letters on Poland, p. 314.

† Histoire Militaire de la Campagne de Russie en 1812, par le Colonel Boutourlin.

CHAP. XIX.

FAME OF PLATÓF. — THE HISTORY OF HIS LIFE AND COMBATS. —MR. SMIRNOI'S WORK.—PLATÓF'S OPINIONS.—HIS GENERAL CHARACTER. — ACCOUNT OF HIS BIRTH. — EDUCATION.—GENIUS.—AMUSEMENTS. — ENTERS THE MILITARY SERVICE. — DEPARTURE FOR THE KRIMEA. — HIS ADVANCEMENT. — HIS BRAVERY ON THE KALALACH. — SENT AGAINST PÚGATCHOF AND THE MOUNTAIN TRIBES OF CAUCASUS. — DISTINGUISHES HIMSELF AT THE SIEGE OF OTCHAKOF. — ALSO AT KÁÜSHÁNACH.—AND AT ISMAIL. — VISITS PETERSBURGH. — PRINCE POTYÉMKIN. —PLATÓF'S PROMOTION.—FIGHTS IN PERSIA. — THE EMPEROR PAUL'S FOOLISH CONDUCT.—HIS CHARACTER. —PLATÓF'S APPEARANCE AT COURT. — MADE ATÁMAN OF THE KOZÁKS OF THE DON. — FOUNDATION OF NÓVO-TCHERKÁSK. — PLATÓF'S ATTACHMENT TO OLD CUSTOMS. — HIS DISTINCTIONS.—HIS ECCENTRICITY.—ANECDOTE. — HIS CHARACTER OF BUONAPARTE. — ANECDOTE. —SERVES AGAINST THE TURKS. — REWARDS.—PLATÓF'S OPERATIONS IN 1812.—

MADE A COUNT. — ADDRESSES TO HIS SOLDIERS. — PRESENT FROM THE EMPEROR. — HIS VISIT TO ENGLAND. — PRESENTS FROM AND TO THE PRINCE REGENT. — THE SWORD OF THE CITY OF LONDON. — PLATÓF'S ARRIVAL AT PETERSBURGH. — SETS OFF FOR VIENNA. — HIS RETURN TO THE CAPITAL. — DEPARTURE.—TRIUMPHAL JOURNEY.—ANECDOTE. — ENTRY INTO NÓVO-TCHERKÁSK. — HIS CONDUCT. — LABAUME'S ACCOUNT OF HIS SON'S DEATH. —REJOICING AND FESTIVALS.— BIBLE SOCIETY.—IMPROVEMENTS. —PREPARATIONS FOR THE RECEPTION OF THE EMPEROR. — VISIT OF THE GREAT DUKE MICHAIL PÁVLOVITCH. — MÍSHKIN.— PLATÓF SETS OFF FOR MOSCOW.—HIS DEATH.—HIS CHARACTER.—HIS FAILINGS.— HIS MONUMENT.

THE fame which the late celebrated Atamán of the Donskoi Kozáks, Count Matvei Ivánovitch Platóf, has acquired throughout Europe, nay, over the whole globe, in consequence of his spirit of enterprise, his military prowess, his important services, and his victories, gained over the enemies of Russia and of Britain, in the memorable campaign of 1812–13–14, renders an account of his life of the highest importance. The unchangeable fidelity which he manifested to his sovereign, and the deep interest he took in the glory of Russia, must ever render his memory dear to that empire. His deeds did not pass in silence, nor require to be brought more prominently into light by a posthumous publication. Platóf was a favourite hero, and a well-known warrior, and had the pleasure of receiving the most distinguished marks of approbation and esteem from the crowned heads of different nations of Europe; besides many other

signal tokens of regard from corporate bodies, and from the people. The astonishing interest our hero excited, and the extraordinary attentions he received, when he was in London in 1814, from the British public, bespoke the national feeling, and made the deepest impression upon his heart; indeed, esteem and gratitude, and even love, seemed to overpower him at all times, when the name of Britain, or of Briton, sounded in his ears.

A history of Platóf was greatly wanted in consequence of the numerous erroneous reports which have been in circulation with respect to his origin, his life, his character, his condition in the world, his combats, and his death. I therefore hope that I shall be able to fill up a blank in the literature of this country. I cannot conceal from my readers, however, that I have drawn very largely from the recent work of Mr. Smirnoi, published under the title of "Life and Combats of Count Matvéi Ivánovitch Platóf."* This work, though unknown in Britain, has met with distinguished patronage abroad, both from the illustrious and the learned, and has been perused, with the most enthusiastic feelings, by thousands of the Kozáks of the Don, at their various stations, scattered over the Russian empire.

Mr. Smirnoi, the biographer of Platóf, was at-

* Jisn i Podvighi Grapha Matveya Ivánovitcha Platóva Sotchinnéniyé Nikolaya Smirnaho, in 3 parts, 8vo. Moscow, 1821.

tached to him in a diplomatic character, became his secretary and an inmate of his house, and was one of his companions when travelling. He had every opportunity of collecting accurate information respecting his life and victories, *vivâ voce*, and it was known that he was composing the work which is to be my chief guide, before the Atamán's death. *

Mr. Smirnoi's work bears the stamp of authenticity in every page, and, though I do not think he has at all times been prudent enough in concealing the failings of his hero, we have seldom to complain of his extravagant statements. To have been a *protégé* of Platóf's, and to have written with less enthusiasm and panegyric, would probably have argued want of taste, and want of feeling. I have made liberal selections, and quotations from the Russian work, and I have added some information with respect to Platóf's family, which I collected at his residence, Nóvo-Tcherkáskt, as well as during my abode and travels in Russia.

Platóf's public character is so well known, that I shall be inclined to dwell less upon his military

* See a Journey from India to England, by Lt. Col. Johnson.

† The name should always be written so, and not *New Tcherkásk*. If the Russians were to half translate Old Bailey into *Staro-Bailey*, how ridiculous would it appear. Tcherkásk is now called *Stâro-Tcherkásk*, i. e. Old Tcherkask, in contradistinction to *Nóvo-Tcherkásk*, i. e. New Tcherkask.

conduct and heroic feats, than upon his domestic occupations, and his private life.

I regret that Smirnoi's work does not contain more of Platóf's opinions, anecdotes, and conversations. Some of his opinions, however, are stated, which are very amusing, and have a peculiar interest. They are the blunt, frank, and unsophisticated expressions of a great mind which had never received a proper cultivation; of a genius which despised the flattery, the hypocrisy, and the deceptions which are often met with in polished life; and of a heart which looked with consummate disdain upon the general professions and actions of courtiers. Platóf was always a Kozák; — the same when a private, as when a chieftain, whether in the midst of his darling soldiers in the camp, or in palaces with the continental sovereigns; whether as the champion of his country residing upon the Don, or receiving the attentions and the praises of the crowned heads in the capitals of Europe. He was a half-civilised, but brave and successful soldier of fortune, who, by his own energy, enterprise, merit, perseverance, and unconquerable valour, raised himself from the lowest rank to the highest station in his country.

Platóf's memory is deservedly cherished with esteem, love, and even veneration, among his countrymen. Young and old, rich and poor, glory in the repetition of his name, as if he were already sainted or immortal. He was truly the

patriarchal father, the baronial chief of feudal times;—the judge, the guide, and the protector of his people in peace; their leader, their hero, and their conqueror in war. His presence excited reverence in the country; the sound of his martial voice was in itself a host, inspiring terror into his enemies, and the confidence which ensures success, to his followers.

The celebrated northern poet, Jukovskii, in "*The Minstrel in the Russian Camp*," who apostrophises the most renowned heroes of the autocratic imperial army, especially those who distinguished themselves in the last campaign against the Emperor Napoleon, gives his meed of praise to Platóf in the following stanza: —

"And thou, Platóf! thou storm of fight,
Thou Atamán, the Lion!
Thy busy lance—thy sling of might,
Scathe—scatter all they fly on.
A wild wolf broken from his lair—
An eagle on stretch'd pinion:—
Death whispering in the foeman's ear
Throughout thy wide dominion.
Amidst the woods his torches fly—
How spreads the conflagration!
Bridges oppose—in dust they lie—
Towns—all is desolation!"*

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* Bowring's Russian Anthology, part ii. p. 71.

I do not think the original one of the most happy efforts of the poet's lyre. Mr. Bowring's translation is superior to it. it illustrates, however, the general opinion with respect to

Count Platóf was born on the 6th August 1751, in the *Stanítsa* * Staro-Tcherkásk, upon the Don. †

Platóf's military prowess, and the mode of warfare among the "clouds of Kozáks." The following is a literal prose translation: —

Praises! Our whirlwind — Atamán,
Chieftain of the unbroken, Platóf!
Thy enchanted *arkan*, ‡
A storm for thine enemies.
The eagle resounds in the clouds;
On the earth the wolf roars.
Fear flies behind our enemies,
Misery whispers in their ears.
They fly to the woods — the woods burn;
The *derevni* § pour out arrows;
They fly to the bridges — the bridges are destroyed;
They fly to the villages — the villages are in flames.

* *Stanítsa.* The villages of the Kozáks, with an allotment of land and of fishing, are called *Stanítsi*, or stations, because the whole of the males of their country being trained to arms, and residing at their homes, form a kind of military colonies. They live by cultivating the ground, and by their fisheries, till the tocsin of war calls them to the field.

† On the banks of the Don, the following fables are reported by the good old people respecting Platóf's birth; and, as they are characteristic of the superstitions of the Kozáks, of which the late Atamán himself possessed a liberal portion, they are

‡ *Arkan* is a long cord with a noose, which the Kirghiss and the Kozáks use in order to seize and carry off prisoners.

§ *Derevni* means villages without churches, and is used by the poet in contradistinction to the word *Sélo*, which occurs in the last line, and which signifies villages with churches. The Germans make a similar distinction in Dorf and Kirchdorf.

His father was a Voiskovoi Starshín *, and had the rank of major. By the steadiness of his character and his virtuous life, he attracted the love and approbation of all his neighbours. His wife, the mother of Count Platóf, shared the public esteem with him. Their circumstances were very moderate; and, on that account, they were unable to give

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the more worthy of being recorded. About the time that Platóf was expected to see the light, his father was occupied with navigation upon the Don, and went to examine his barge, which was not farther distant than 100 fathoms from his house. On the road thence, some kind of bird, while flying over him, dropped a piece of rye bread upon his hat. The respectable old man having crossed himself, offered up a prayer, and concealed the piece of bread in his pocket. Then, on approaching the bank of the river, another wonder was manifested. A fish, called *Sazan*, (a species of carp,) without any visible excitement, sprung out of the water, and was so tranquil that he was enabled to catch it, and carry it home alive. Scarcely had he reached his home, when his ears were delighted with the agreeable intelligence that God had given him a son. The old man looked upon all that had happened as a blessed augury of heaven, and thanked the Almighty with all his heart. He regaled his neighbours with *vodtki* (spirits), and they eat the bread, and, having invited his friends to dinner, they devoured the fish he had caught.

* The rank of *Voiskovoi Starshin*, in those days, was much more highly esteemed than at present. Then the officers of the army of the Don had not the same facility of promotion as those of the regular army, and those alone were raised who distinguished themselves by their service. Long afterwards, the Emperor Paul, on account of the faithful and brave service of the troops of the Don, put them upon an equality in obtaining rank with the regular army. *Voiskovoi Starshín* literally means Military Syndic, or Elder.

their son any education beyond reading and writing Russ; but, in recompense for this, they took care to form his character with all parental tenderness. From his very youth they endeavoured to fix in his mind the tenets of the Greek church, voluntary obedience to authorities, unbounded devotion and fidelity to his sovereign, unalterable attachment to his relations and to old customs, and to inspire his soul with military courage. According to the custom of the inhabitants of the Don, relating the distinguished victories of his country, they sowed in their son's heart the seeds of patriotic virtues, and roused his zeal to proceed in the path which leads to true fame.

In his earliest years, Platóf gave proofs of an uncommon mind and understanding. Every thing in him indicated premature manhood, and that he had been created for those famous combats by which he acquired glory in the eyes of Russia, and of all Europe, and which threw lustre upon his native land, and secured its weal. All the youthful amusements in which he indulged were manly and useful. They consisted in perfecting himself in horsemanship, with the evolutions and celerity of a Kozák; in hunting, fishing, shooting, and such occupations. Even now, there are old people living who report, that in intrepidity and fortitude, Platóf far exceeded all the cotemporary youths of the Don. Thus passed the early days

of the future hero, under the guardianship of his parents.

At the age of thirteen, Platóf entered the service of his country as an *Uriadnik.* * His father, a religious old man, having dedicated his son to the service of his sovereign, gave him strict orders, which formed his chief heritage, that he should always have before him his own example, who, without the least protection, but by faithful service to his sovereign and to his country, had arrived at the rank of a staff-officer,—that he should preserve unaltered the customs of his parents,—that he should every where, and in all things, conduct himself as a good Christian, with full confidence in God, not only on important but also in the most trifling occurrences of life,—that he should be true and faithful to his sovereign and to his country, serve the government, be attentive to his equals, condescending to his inferiors, and strict rather with himself than with those of inferior rank: in short, that he should never forget the country in which he had been born, nourished, and educated.

Setting forward, with such home education and

* Uriadnik means him whose duty it is to keep order for the time being, an orderly. Thus at the military post stations in the Caucasus, and in the country of the Don Kozáks, the *Uriadnik* receives and inscribes your travelling order for post-horses, and assists your arrangements, for which he usually receives drink-money.

parental benediction, to the field of warfare, the young Platóf did not long remain in obscurity. His exactness in the fulfilment of the duties imposed upon him; the rapidity and remarkable hardiness he showed in his first experiments in the profession of a soldier; his quick, comprehensive, and clear judgment; and his decisive character; soon drew to him the attention of high and low, commanded general approbation and confidence, and caused him to be taken much notice of by those at the head of government. Platóf was very soon advanced to be an officer, and, when he happened to be on duty at the commander-in-chief's, was invariably treated with much distinction, and asked to his table. His superiors in rank taught him to feel that he was elevated above the rank of the common Donites, and to look forward to a bright career of military fame. His indefatigable assiduity and attention augmented from day to day. He allowed nothing to pass without particular examination, and left no object, which had once excited his regard and curiosity, without informing himself thoroughly of its nature. His activity was not, however, confined to military occupations — the kind of service peculiar to the Kozáks, to which he was always attached heart and soul, —he endeavoured to gain information in other departments, and took advantage of all occasions to obtain a knowledge of the world. The result showed, that in this respect he had been

completely successful. He was peculiarly attentive in seizing the expressions of distinguished individuals indicating penetration or solidity of thought. He lost not a moment in idleness, and no means of informing his mind was allowed to pass without advantage. Aware that reading books contributed to this purpose, he consecrated his leisure to this delightful occupation. * The perusal of general and particular history made him acquainted with the great men of ancient days, and their example inflamed his soul which, without excitement, was of a very ardent cast. This strict self-discipline prepared the future hero.

Before the commencement of the first Turkish war, Platóf's father was sent with a regiment of the Don, first to the Baradínskii line, and afterwards to St. Petersburgh. He left his son in charge of his domestic affairs, chiefly of his fisheries on the shores of the sea of Azoph; but no sooner had "*the thunder thundered*" (*vosgrémel grom*) of military arms, than the heart of the young soldier was inflamed with zeal to fly to the post which his countrymen occupied, and with them to share their labours and dangers. Although he had not received the parental benediction for such praiseworthy conduct, and that in the absence of his father, the

* How much might it be regretted that he had not had the use of a good library; for in his early days, upon the Don, it may be presumed but few books, and those, of course, chiefly translations, were to be procured!

domestic affairs committed to his charge might fall into disorder, if left without inspection, he resolved to leave them to the care of stewards (*prikástchiki*), and having taken a horse and the necessary trappings, he set out, in the year 1770, for the Krimea. There he presented himself to Prince Vassilii Michaïlovitch Dolgorúkof, commander-in-chief of the army. He gained the good opinion of the Prince, and was soon afterwards attached to him. Platóf then received the rank of *esaül*, or captain, and he was entrusted with the command of a hundred Kozáks, who formed part of the staff, from different regiments. Having secured the early favourable impressions of his chief by his exemplary conduct, he was soon raised to the rank of *Voiskovoi Starshín*, and he now found himself at the head of a regiment of his favourite Donskoi Kozáks. At this time he was not more than twenty years of age. Notwithstanding his youth, the new-made Starshín soon exhibited signs of uncommon intrepidity, presence of mind, and knowledge of military tactics, by saving himself and the force entrusted to him, from imminent danger of annihilation. This, the first important affair in which he had engaged, happened in the Kubán, and on the river Kalalach, on the 3d of April 1774. He was charged with the convoy of provisions and ammunition to the army. His whole force consisted of his own regiment, and the regiment of Lariónof, with one piece of artillery, and a considerable number of

baggage waggons. In his progress to the place of destination, in a most extensive *step* *, and completely separated from other forces, he was suddenly surrounded by the Tartars of the Krimea, under the command of the Khan, Devlet Gherri, whose troops ten times exceeded his own in number. It was the general opinion of all his companions, as well as of the commander of the other regiment, that they ought to surrender themselves and baggage rather than engage in so unequal a contest; but the young hero, Platóf, was of a different opinion. He caused the baggage waggons to stop, and thus harangued his soldiers: "My friends, there remains for us either a glorious death, or victory. We should not be Russians † and Donites if we feared the enemy; with the assistance of God, let us repel their audacious attacks." He ordered the small force he commanded to be immediately surrounded by the *telégas* (small four-wheeled carts) and by the sacks taken out of them, and in this manner formed a kind of fortification. Afterwards he picked out two Kozáks, whose daring spirit, temerity, and bravery, had been proved on former occasions, and told them that he put his

* Vide p. 134. of Vol. I.

† I suspect that the biographer has inadvertently, if not willingly, added the word Russians, as the Kozáks are not Russians, but Malo-Russians, or a distinct race; and especially because the Kozáks think themselves a superior people to the Russians.

life in their hands; and that, if they died gloriously in the act to which they were destined, for the Tsarítsa (Empress) their mother, for the safety of their brethren, wives and children, they would be rewarded in heaven by an immortal crown. He then despatched them to Lieut. Col. Buchovistof, who was on the opposite bank of the Kalalach with a chasseur-battalion, begging him to come to his assistance. The attack was furiously commenced by the Tartars, and as bravely resisted by the Kozáks of the Don. In the mean time, one of the messengers reached the Colonel, while the other fell a sacrifice to the cause of his country. The chasseur-battalion was immediately in motion; and the Tartars, having already lost a number of men, and seeing fresh troops, of whose numbers they were uncertain, coming up, betook themselves to flight, and left Platóf completely master of the field. This triumph of the young warrior was followed by most sincere and ardent thanksgiving to the God of battles: a practice which ceased only with the hero's existence.

Platóf had previously shared in the honour of taking the lines of Pérekop, and of a victory near Kinburn, in the year 1771; but it was this engagement in the Kubán which established his reputation throughout the Russian armies.

After the conclusion of peace with the Turks at Kainardji, Platóf was sent to the Kubán. He was employed in 1774 for the suppression of the

notorious rebel, Púgatchof. After that individual had been seized and delivered over to justice, he was occupied, in the years 1775-6-7, in the destruction of bands of his followers. He was next sent against the tribes who dwell beyond the river Kubán, where he remained in 1782-3. In 1784 he was destined to oppose two of the most barbarous and ferocious tribes of mount Caucasus, the Tchitchéntsi and the Lesghées.

About this time Prince Potyémkin became commander-in-chief of the southern army, and a new campaign with the Turks was opened by the siege of Otchakof, which was soon afterwards taken by storm; and Platóf, who had attained the rank of colonel, participated in the glory of the day. In the month of September 1789, our hero greatly distinguished himself in the battle of Kaushanach; and, in consequence, was rewarded with the rank of Brigadier-General, and also named the *Pochódnoi Atamán*, or Field-Atamán, *i. e.* the Atamán who accompanies or marches with the army. In the same month, he acted a valiant part in the memorable capture of the strong fortress and town of Belgrade, or Akkerman; which is situated upon an elevated rock on the right bank of the *liman* * of the Dnéster, at the distance of fifteen versts from the Black Sea. In 1790, he was a participator of the dangers and of the honours of the dreadful

* Vide p. 156. of Vol. I.

conflict which took place at the attack and capture of the fortress of Ismail upon the Danube, hitherto deemed impregnable. The well-known, singular, and laconic Suvárof, received the order to take this castle * within three days. He called a kind of council of war, and having desired that every one present should give his unbiassed opinion, trusting to God and his conscience, he left the assembly. A sheet of paper was brought, in order that each member of the meeting might write down his opinion as to their future operations. The brave hero of this memoir being the youngest brigadier-general present, it was his duty to write first. He hesitated not, but noted down, "*to storm the fortress!*" and he was followed in his decision by all the commanders present. Running into the tent, and remarking a general consent among the officers, Suvárof, in ecstasy, kissed them all, and vociferated: "*One day to worship God, another day for instruction, and the third day, a glorious death or victory!*" The successful, but awful result of this sanguinary conflict is well known. The Turks are said to have lost 35,000 men, and the Russians a prodigious number. Here, as usual, Platóf acted his part well. He fought most gallantly, and gave fresh indications of his future greatness. His sovereign now bestowed on him the military order of St. George, of the third class,

* Vide p. 127. Vol. I.

which must have proved a great source of pleasure to him, as this is the most creditable order in Russia; and is very unlike some of the others—neither to be bought nor sold, but must be fought for—being only given as a reward for gallant behaviour in the field.

Potyémkin early discovered the splendid natural talents of Platóf, and he made him *Atamán* of the Yekaterinosláf Kozáks, who were formed from the *Odnovórtsi* (or possessors of one house), and of the Kozáks of Tchugúéf.*

Platóf visited Petersburg in the year 1791, and his military renown having preceded him, he was received in the most flattering manner, both by sovereign and subject. It was at this time that Potyémkin made his last visit to Petersburgh to enjoy the laurels awarded to his successes: and that he gave his sovereign the most splendid reception in the Tauridan palace, which, perhaps, was ever offered by a subject to a prince; but the joy of which must have been destroyed by the presentiment he felt, "that the kingdom was departing from him;" or rather that it was the last magnificent interview which he was to have with that wonderful, but wily and profligate, genius of the

* The Kozáks of Tchugúéf were afterwards converted into regular cavalry regiments; and they yielded with the highest reluctance to their late destiny of being formed into military colonies. See "Account of the Organization, Administration, &c., of the Military Colonies in Russia, p. 21. 1824."

north, whose favour he had long enjoyed, and whose empire he had in a manner ruled. Potyémkin returned to the camp; and, as is well known, died near Yassi. His body, as formerly noticed, was buried in the principal church of Khersón; and as an awful lesson to humanity, of the instability of mortal fame, no one dare to point out to the passing traveller the place where the remains of this distinguished man repose. The conqueror of southern Russia has no spot sacred to his relics, no stone to indicate where he is at rest. *Sic transit gloria mundi.** Some think that such an end is the just reward of his life, while others are disposed to erect a monument to perpetuate his fame. But it is time to return to our subject.

Peace with the Turks followed Potyémkin's death; and the empress's new favourite, Count V. A. Zúbof, having succeeded to the command of the army, the rank of major-general was bestowed upon Platóf, and he was also made the *Pochódnoi Voiskovoi Atamán*, or the Field-Military Atamán, of the Kozáks of the Don, as well as of the other Kozák regiments in Zúbof's army. Platóf fought with this army, in the war against the Persians, for two years; and at its conclusion, he had the honour to receive a sword "for bravery," from his sovereign.

* Vide p. 213. Vol. I.

Hitherto we have seen Platóf in the Krimea, in the Kubán, in Moldavia, and in Persia, marching steadily forward in the road of military fame, favoured by fortune, and guided by his "good genius." Concealed enemies, in the depth of envy, jealousy, and malice, had attempted in vain to turn the heart of his Imperial mistress, Catherine II. against him; but that monarch was not easily to be led away, or to be duped. The inconsiderate, flexible, and misguided Paul, however, lent an ear to false accusations, and was led to commit a great mistake. It is generally believed that the brave Suvárof fell a victim to this sovereign's cruel conduct; and, it appears, that Platóf narrowly escaped a similar fate. Mr. Smirnoi gives us to understand, that our hero was upon good terms "with the heir of Catherine, *of blessed memory*, who, with such a soul, such a heart, and such an understanding, knew how to do justice to merit, how to elevate, and how to reward like *a sovereign, when no foreign feeling* prevented the activity of his truly innate and sovereign virtues." Afterwards, however, when Platóf set off on a visit to his country and family, various reports were made to the Emperor with respect to his want of allegiance, and to his collusion with the tribes of the Caucasus to make a general revolt. Platóf was stopped in his career, carried to Kolómna, and from thence to Petersburgh, where he was lodged in the castle of Peter and Paul. But the Emperor discovered his upright conduct, and the

baseness of his enemies, whom he gave up to due punishment, while he, to use the author's extraordinary expression, "*granted a complete pardon to Platóf,*" and received him into great favour. *Pardon was granted for the Emperor's mistake!**

The villanous report originated with a countryman of Platóf's, who could not endure his distinctions, and evidently wished to supplant him in the monarch's favour. Paul, like most violent persons, had a good heart, and, in his calm moments, generally wished to redeem the injuries which he had committed when under the influence of ungovernable passion, or of mistake. This was so well known, that the grandees of the north did not frown, in those days, at the sight, or even the feel, of the Imperial cane. Flagellation generally became the passport to honours or a lucrative station, and sometimes to the *arend* (lease) of an estate.

To recompense Platóf for the injustice of his enemies, and for his own rash cruelty, Paul, according to custom, loaded him with favours, and ordered his presentation at court. Unfortunately, Platof's uniform was not made according to the fashion of the day, and this soldier well knew the tact and minuteness with which his Imperial master regarded the exterior of every individual who came under his cognisance. The least non-conformity to the prescribed etiquette of the time, or of the day,

* See Character of the Russians, &c. p.lxiv.

might have lost him the favourable impressions of Paul, and the rewards which awaited him. To add to Platóf's anxiety and distress, the presentation was ordered to take place so soon, that there was not time for making a new dress. He hesitated how to act, knowing not what might be the result of the violent excitement of his sovereign's mind. At length he sent to all the well-known tailors in the Residence to enquire after a ready-made uniform for a general of the Kozák army. At one of the tailors' such a dress was found, and, what is remarkable, it belonged to the most bitter of Platóf's enemies who had sought his ruin. Platóf was presented to his sovereign, and, among other marks of Imperial favour, he received the cross of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, of which order, Paul, for a time, became the self-elected mock grand-master, or purchaser.

Soon after this, Platóf was ordered to return home where he became assistant in the administration to the *Voiskovoi Atamán* of the Don territory.

In 1801 a horrid end was put to Paul's days, and his son and successor, Alexander, who was well acquainted with Platóf's merit, soon had an opportunity of publicly testifying his high regard for him. The distinguished and lamented *Voiskovoi Atamán* of the Donskoi Kozáks, General Orlof *, died during

* Mr. Heber, now Bishop of Calcutta, whose general accuracy is wonderful, and whose notes add so much value to

the first year of Alexander's reign, and the new sovereign did not hesitate to nominate Platóf his successor, although many of his countrymen were older, and appeared to have prior claims. Platóf was soon afterwards presented to Alexander in his new capacity. He now began to occupy himself with his favourite scheme — the foundation of Nóvo-Tcherkásk, which I have already described at length.

Platóf was strict in ordering the Kozáks to wear their native dress, and once he had two officers put under arrest because they had shown themselves in common coats. His creed and practice were very different from Peter the Great's; "for," says his biographer, "he knew that from a change of na-

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Clarke's Travels in Russia, says, that "Platóf's predecessor was the last Atamán who was in possession of his ancient privileges. He had often, by his own authority, bound men hand and foot and thrown them into the Don. He was unexpectedly seized and carried off by the orders of the Empress (*Catharine*), and succeeded, as general of the armies of the Don, by Maffei Ivanovitch Platóf, a fine civil old soldier, with the great cordon of St. Anne." See Clarke's Travels, vol. i. p. 292. Note.

The errors of this statement are obvious; General Orlof, the predecessor of Platóf for a short time, Mr. Smirnoi speaks of as one whose administration begat him general love, approbation, and confidence, and whose memory and name are preserved with attachment and esteem in the hearts of the Donites. Mr. Heber, no doubt, has been led into the mistake in consequence of some one confounding the *Atamán-General* of the Don territory, with the *Atamán* of a village; for the chief of each *stanítsa* has the title of *Atamán*. At one time the term Atamán signified a chief of banditti.

tional dress, there is only one step to a change of national manners," and this he did not want.

In the war carried on by Austria, Prussia, and Russia, against France, Platóf first showed himself with the Donskoi Kozáks, marching toward the centre of Europe. A new field of glory apparently opened for his exertions; but his small army had scarcely reached the confines of Russia when peace put a stop to his progress. The repose of Europe, however, did not long endure; and, in the war which commenced toward the end of 1806, and which was terminated by the inglorious peace of Tilsit, Platóf bore an eminent part, and became known to all Europe.

My limits do not allow me to enter into the details of all the engagements and services of Platóf, which are recorded minutely in Mr. Smirnoi's work, and which are in fact so generally known as to render the task unnecessary. In this campaign the Kozák army under Platóf took prisoners, nine staff-officers, 130 superior officers, and 4196 of the lower ranks; while, in the Donskoi regiments, were killed two staff-officers; seven superior officers; sixteen *uriadniks* *; and 169 Kozáks; and, were wounded, one staff-officer, twenty-one superior officers, thirty-four *uriadniks*, and 397 Kozáks.

In reward for his eminent services in this cam-

* Vide p. 216. of this Volume. Note.

paign, Platóf received from the Emperor the order of St. Alexander Névskii, and soon after, the same order in brilliants, and a gold snuff-box, with his sovereign's portrait, of fine workmanship, beset with precious stones, and valued at least at thirty thousand roubles. The king of Prussia showed him the greatest kindness, and in this he was followed by the queen. He was often at the royal table, and he received, besides the orders of the Red and Black Eagles, a gold snuff-box, with the king's portrait also set in brilliants and rubies. Sir Robert Wilson says, "When the king of Prussia was anxious to find some farther distinction for Platóf, who, by a series of great and gallant services, had exhausted the usual means of royal recompense for military achievements, the queen graciously discovered the compliment that would be most grateful to him, and presented into his hands a beautiful heron's plume, rendered inestimable to all who admire beauty, and every female accomplishment that could distinguish a woman and a sovereign, by having herself once worn it. Platóf received it with enthusiastic and grateful emotions; but, on his knees, solicited permission that his "wife might wear it on the most solemn occasions, as he should contemplate it with suitable veneration, when so borne by one who was more worthy than himself of this honour." *

* Brief Remarks on the Character and Composition of the Russian Army, &c. p. 36.

After the conclusion of the general peace at Tilsit in 1807, at an interview of the monarchs, the Emperor Napoleon signified to Alexander his wish to bestow the order of the Legion of Honour upon some of the distinguished generals of the Russian army. The intention of Napoleon was made known to Platóf, with the design that he might be led to express a wish to be included among the select small number. The Atamán knowing that there were present those who would carry his answer to Buonaparte, is said to have made the following speech: "It is his will — as he likes — but if he actually send me his order as a recompense, I will not receive it, and so I will inform my liege sovereign. Why should he reward me? I certainly never served him. I serve my natural sovereign in faith and truth. I never exchanged any thing for him: for the sake of our angel, of the eternal and patriotic love of our country, I am always ready to shed my best blood against him, to the last drop, and till my latest breath: but, for him I will not sacrifice one drop of blood; not a moment of time; and nobody will oblige me to do so: in testimony whereof I do penance, and bow before Almighty God." *

Platóf could not conceal his wish, however, to examine Buonaparte more nearly, and at a review

* Platóf's peculiar style and manner is alluded to hereafter: at times it seems incoherent. Vide p. 253. of this Vol.

of the troops, where all the *crowned heads of Tilsit* were present, one of the French officers remarked the eager attention with which Platóf rivetted his eyes upon Napoleon; but the veteran, with presence of mind, though in words which ill-disguised his thoughts, replied, "I am not looking at your emperor; in him there is nothing extraordinary; he is as other people; I am looking at his horse, and I wish to know its race."

Among his own friends Platóf gave the following opinion of Buonaparte: "Although his penetrating look, and the features of his face, indicate great strength of mind, yet, at the same time, they manifest uncommon severity. That man was not born for the weal, but for the misfortune of the human race."

The Emperor Napoleon having heard of Platof's great dexterity in shooting with the bow used by the Tartars and the Bashkirs, signified his wish to witness the feats of the Atamán to the Emperor Alexander, who acted as interpreter on the occasion. Buonaparte is said to have been astonished, and to have begged Platóf to receive a gold snuff-box, decorated with his portrait and precious stones, as a remembrance of him. But the will of his sovereign, Alexander, which may be considered as equivalent to a command, alone could induce the Atamán to receive the proffered present. That he might not, however, remain in debt to the Emperor of the French, he immediately presented the

bow which he had used to His Majesty. Platóf had scarcely returned to his quarters, when he took out the stones from the snuff-box, and by the first opportunity he sent them to his daughters; but he allowed the portrait to remain until the triumphal entry of the Russian troops into Paris, when he received the intelligence of Buonaparte's resignation of the throne. Then, in an ecstasy, he tore out the portrait from the box, and ordered it to be replaced by an *antique*. This transformed box he used as a kind of trophy till the day of his death.

Platóf partly shared in the campaign against the Turks, with the army under General Field-marshal Prince Prósorovskii, in the year 1809, which gave him an opportunity of adding fresh laurels to his wreath of fame. "For all his combats," the Emperor granted him the rank of general of cavalry, the order of St. George of the second class, great cross, and the order of the first rank of St. Vladimir. Our hero was now taken dangerously ill, and the physicians reported that he was threatened with consumption. The Emperor having heard of this, allowed him to quit the Moldavian army, upon condition that on his recovery he should show himself at Petersburgh, where a particular affair demanded his arrival. Some months after his return to the Don he recovered his health, and then set off for the Residence, where he was most graciously received by his sovereign, and most kindly treated

by all ranks. While there, a complete table service of china, which had been made at the royal potteries, and which had been expedited by the King of Prussia, was received. What rendered this present more valuable, was the circumstance of the service being ornamented with the royal arms, and representations of different engagements, and especially of those of the hero himself.

We hear little more of Platóf till the year 1812. The events of the last campaign are too well known, and too fresh in every one's mind, to stand in need of repetition here. The share Platóf and the Kozáks had during the advance of the French into Russia, their stay there, and their retreat, is well illustrated by a table in the Appendix of Smirnoi's work. From the statements therein contained, it appears that from the 27th of June till about the middle of December 1812, i. e. till the pursuit beyond Kovno to Vilkoviskii, "there were killed 18,300; taken, 10 generals, 1047 staff and superior officers; and 39,511 of the lower ranks; besides 15 standards, 364 cannon, and 1066 ammunition waggons, by Platóf's army alone.

For different victories near Smolénsk, in the retreat of the French, the Emperor created Platóf a count, and made the title hereditary in his family.

Some of Platóf's addresses to his troops are well worth attention, as well as the orders he sent to his native country in the emergency of 1812. They

had an electric effect, and instantaneously assembled all the males. Youths scarcely fourteen years of age, and hoary heads bending toward the grave, were ranged in the ranks, and seen on the march to join their brethren in arms.

Of the progress of the Russian army from the Niemen to Paris, I shall say nothing; but the following anecdote is worth recording, and shows that it required invention to know with what additional honours to load Platóf. While the confederate sovereigns were at Frankfort, Count Platóf was sitting at his window, when Count Araktchíef's adjutant arrived with a new gift from the monarch, "a rich feather, with laurel wreaths of the imperial crest, all made of brilliants, to wear in his cap:" but I should suppose the Atamán never made an exhibition of himself with such a gaudy ornament upon his head. "The Count immediately rose from the table, prayed God for the health of his adored sovereign, and then drank a *bumper* of wine to his august health."

"The Emperor having resolved to visit England, this nation so famous for the grandeur of its spirit, its riches, its knowledge, and its wise laws," * he nominated Platóf among those who were to compose his suite.

* These are Mr. Smirnoi's words, and may be reckoned Platóf's; and, indeed, the language of the Kozák country, high and low, is of the same nature. Platóf has inspired his countrymen with the most exalted opinions of Britain and her natives.

Here Mr. Smirnoi gives a detailed account of the veteran's reception in our metropolis, of the crowds of visitors that thronged upon him, both in and out of town, of the gracious reception of him by the King, then Prince Regent, and of the portrait which he caused to be painted, and of the numerous invitations which he received to dinners, suppers, balls, concerts, theatres, &c. The old soldier complained of the actors, who prayed him, nay almost forced him, to be present at their benefits, and of his being obliged, in consequence, to go to two or more *spectacles* on the same day. At this, we need not be surprised, for it was a species of life to which he was unaccustomed, and besides, he was not an amateur of such amusements.

The following circumstances seem to have highly delighted Platóf. "The Count having made known his wish to purchase a gold watch of the best description, his landlord pretended that he would make enquiry where such a one could be found. On the following day, Platóf received as a present from the Prince Regent, a splendid watch with his arms upon it." "The Prince having ordered a painting to be taken of the beautiful white horse on which Platóf had not only shown himself in London, but which had been his companion in the last campaign, and in all his former campaigns, the hero, in order to show his attachment, resolved to part with this animal, and after

having had it equipped with all the Kozák trappings, he presented it to the Prince Regent, who was highly pleased on the occasion, and ordered this Donskoi Bucephalus to be kept in his own stables, and to be taken particular care of."

The present of the Prince Regent's portrait, set in precious stones, appears to have afforded uncommon pleasure to Platóf; and I should suppose that it is the reason that an engraving of it is found in his life, with a copy of the original inscription, as well as a translation of the same. Indeed, every thing English seems held in more than usual veneration, and hence both sides of the sword which was sent to Platóf from the city of London, are also represented among the plates; and in the appendix of Smirnoi's work we find the letter of the Duke of Wellington which accompanied it, as well as the answer of the Atamán.

Platóf remained a short time in London after the departure of the Emperor, and then proceeded to Warsaw; and, having made arrangements respecting some Kozák regiments stationed on the frontiers, he hastened to Petersburgh. Here he passed a short time, enjoying the sweets of repose amidst his friends. But Napoleon's return from Elba, put an end to the festivities of the northern Residence. His Imperial Majesty soon left it, and ten Kozák regiments, which had returned to the Don, were immediately put in march to Radzivil, and as many more were ordered to follow with all

speed. The Count himself set off to head-quarters at Vienna. The Russian army advanced, but had not reached the frontiers of France, when the decisive battle of Waterloo took place, and, in a manner, put an end to the war, though the troops continued their march. Platóf followed the Emperor to Paris, and afterwards to Petersburgh. Having passed eight months in the residence in 1815–16, he begged leave to return to his native country. While at the new capital, every attention had been shown him. The officers of the Kozák regiments of life-guards entertained him by two public dinners, at which he conducted himself in the most affable manner, speaking to all, enquiring about their relations, and always concluding in these words, "Remember glory and virtue, and preserve the customs of your fathers."

The Count received permission to return to the Don; and, in a very flattering rescript, in which His Majesty expresses his obligations to the Kozáks in the last campaign, he, at the same time, signifies his intention of seeing both the Atamán and them in their own territory.

The Count at length quitted Petersburgh, and arrived at Moscow, where he passed a few days. Among his suite, was a fair lady whom the hero had carried from England, and to whom, during a short illness in the ancient capital, he was most attentive. *

* In the year 1817, Col. Johnson thus expresses himself: —

According to our guide, Platóf hurried to his native country, thinking that at length time would be left him to enjoy the monarch's benevolence, and the esteem of his compatriots in his domestic circle; "but already death stretched out his cold arms, and the green laurel entwined with his venerable grey hairs, was ready to yield its place to the modest crown of the dead."

As was naturally to be expected, the Count's journey was like a triumphal procession, after he entered upon his native soil. The noble and the ignoble crowded to the post stations, and in the usual manner of the country, while presenting bread and salt, tendered their congratulations, and manifested their enthusiasm, and their attachment. These marks of regard were received by Platóf with the most lively feelings of gratitude, "and tears of tenderness, and of heart-felt content unconsciously trickled from his eyes."

At the last station from Nóvo-Tcherkásk, he was met by his own brave Kozáks, with General Grékof at their head, and with the usual *oura, oura,* (not hourah, as usually written by travellers,) and with them he then continued his progress. But at some versts from the town, he ordered a halt to be made at a small *kurgán*, or tumulus. Having

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"At his country house were three English ladies, one of them a *protégée* of his, and the others, her two friends." Journey from India to England.

ascended it, "he turned to the crosses glittering upon the churches, and having made three bows to the earth, in tears pronounced the following energetic words. — 'Glory to God in the highest: I have served the Tsar and travelled enough: I am now in my native land: perhaps the Almighty will permit me to die quietly here, and my bones to be gathered to my native soil.' He then took up a piece of earth and kissed it. At that moment, as if expressly for the occasion, a heavy shower fell, and continued for the space of five minutes, during which the Count stood without moving, with his head uncovered, and said that *this circumstance was a very good omen.* After the ceasing of the storm, he bowed on all sides, and then went on his way."

At his entry into Nóvo-Tcherkásk, he was met by the *Nakázanii Atamán*, Lieutenant-General Ilovăiskii, and the authorities of the town, amidst *ouras*, and the thunder of artillery. From the barrier of the town, he proceeded to the Cathedral of the Ascension, where the clergy awaited him. Before the principal entrance were placed all the standards and the regalia of the army. At the entrance of the Count, *Te Deum* was sung, and the prayer for length of days to the monarch and his august family being repeated, 101 cannon were fired. A short sermon was then pronounced, at the conclusion of which Platóf, "with Christian affection, did homage to the *holy images*;" and on

this occasion, before the image of the Mother of God, he placed the order of St. Ann, which had belonged to his second son, who had been a major-general, and who, to universal regret, died in the flower of his years, and on the dawning of his military glory." I cannot avoid here quoting the account of this son of Platóf, given by the intelligent but sometimes romantic Labaume, who says he took it from the German journals. This author states that "since the opening of the campaign, the son of the hetman Platóf, mounted upon a fine white horse of the Ukraine, was the faithful companion of his father in arms, and marching always at the head of the Kozáks, made himself remarkable to the French advanced guards, by his signal valour:" and "that this young man was the idol of his father, and the hope of the warlike nation which ought one day to obey him." He is said to have fallen near Veréia in a violent shock of cavalry, between Prince Poniatóvskii and the Atamán Platóf, when, according to Labaume, "that veteran flew to assist and to receive the last testimonial of his tenderness, but on opening his mouth he gave up the ghost. On the dawn of the morrow, the chiefs of the Kozáks desired to bestow the rites of sepulture, and the cold hand of the dead body — which was stretched upon a bear's-skin — was saluted by them. They prayed for the repose of the young warrior's soul, and removed his mortal remains from the sight of his father, upon a bier

covered with cypress. The Kozáks, arranged around the body in order of battle, observed a religious silence, and bowed their heads, upon which sadness was depicted. At the moment the earth was ready to separate from them for ever the son of their prince, they fired a volley, and afterwards holding their horses in their hands, they defiled near the tomb, with the points of their lances turned to the earth."

Will it be believed that the young warrior whose exploits, death, and funeral are thus so circumstantially detailed, died tranquilly in his native country, surrounded by all his nearest relatives, with the exception of his father: who, I believe, was at Petersburgh at the time of the melancholy event?

How much is the public imposed upon by the daily false reports of uninformed writers, who prefer composing fables, to searching after truth! No country, no people in the world, has more cause to complain of the ignorance, the injustice, and the calumny of writers, than Russia and its natives; and even yet, the Kozáks have not found an impartial historian, either in their own or in foreign countries. It is true, that amusing accounts, be they true or false, are read with enthusiasm and delight; while important historical facts scarcely attract regard. In this romantic and light-reading age, it were to be wished that real history—which may be defined to be a series

of facts—should not have its venerable place usurped by novels altogether romantic, or compounded of truth and fable; which tend to confound the reader, and to confuse the memory. But I must return to Platóf.

After their exit from the church, the Count, surrounded by the military, made a short speech alluding to the last campaign, which he terminated by exciting them to pray for the health of their sovereign, Alexander Pávlovitch. The hero then ordered a rescript — a public testimonial of thanks from the Emperor — to be read; which being done, he kissed the Imperial signature, when the *oura* rent the air, but was soon drowned by the roar of the artillery.

The Chieftain having now fulfilled his public duties, hastened to the grave of his spouse, who had died in 1812, and shed abundance of tears over her mortal remains. "Indeed, so greatly was he affected by sad recollections, that those around him were obliged to use some force to remove him from the cold monument, and almost to carry him to the house of the *Nakázanii Voiskovoi Atamán;* where a magnificent dinner was prepared. There his painful feelings were dispersed by a joyful meeting with all his family, after so long a separation; and the feast was concluded by an illumination."

On the following day Platóf received a deputation of the mercantile body of Nóvo-Tcherkásk, who

were appointed to compliment him on his safe arrival at home, after his victories abroad.

The Count, during seventeen years which he had been the chief of the country, had not passed more than three years, all the times of his residence put together, at Nóvo-Tcherkásk. But, now, in a season of greater leisure, he proceeded to occupy his attention with improvements of the army, and in the civil administration, as well as other objects of public benefit. He kept the festival days of the Imperial family with great ceremony and magnificence; and on the evening of the 12th December 1816, the Emperor's birthday was more than usually signalised, by the presentation of a plan to the nobles, of having a division of the Bible Society at Nóvo-Tcherkásk; a plan which was realised in the following year, when 10,000 roubles were sent to the Minister of Religion and of Public Instruction, Prince Galitsin, the President of the Parent Society at Petersburgh. The *Atamán* was chosen a Vice-president of the Society, or chief of the Division at Nóvo-Tcherkásk; and, during his life, he took the liveliest concern in its interests.

Platóf also took great interest in forwarding the erection of Nóvo-Tcherkásk; and the building of the cathedral which had been altogether suspended in consequence of the invasion of 1812, was recommenced, and proceeded rapidly. His time was devoted to the interests of his country; — he

endeavoured to have justice done to all in the tribunals,—he assisted the poor,—he gave every encouragement to the gymnasium,—and with his own hands he distributed prizes to the scholars; and in the year 1817, he had the first printing-office erected in the town. The improvement of the Kozák horse-artillery excited his particular attention; and he had a camp formed near the town, that he might be able often to superintend their manœuvres.

The old veteran awaited the arrival of the Emperor from St. Petersburgh with impatience, and made all preparations to receive him in a magnificent manner. Two triumphal gates were erected, as already told, one at each end of Nóvo-Tcherkásk: but alas! when His Majesty passed under them, Platóf was no more. Though the Atamán's health was but very indifferent, the expectation of seeing Alexander in his favourite town, renovated his strength, and animated him with new vigour. He was especially anxious that both the civil and military state of the Kozáks might be such as to satisfy his sovereign. In the meantime, our hero was highly gratified by the visit of the Grand Duke Michail Pávlovitch, who arrived on the 14th September in the country of the Kozáks, and was received at every station with all due honour, as well as on the 16th at Nóvo-Tcherkásk. The ceremonies which took place

on the 17th and 18th, are minutely detailed by Mr. Smirnoi; more especially those at Mishkin. Platóf himself standing at the entrance, and presenting bread and salt, (after the custom of Russia,) received the Imperial visitor.

As the reader may be curious to know something of the above-named estate of Count Platóf, I have given a view of it at the head of this chapter: and shall now add a few words in explanation. Mishkin, formerly Platof's country seat, is situated upon the banks of the river Aksăi, at the distance of two miles from Nóvo-Tcherkásk. The site is reckoned very fine by the natives; but, unfortunately, the environs are barren. Art has greatly ornamented its immediate vicinity, and it has a respectable appearance, as may be seen by looking at the vignette. The whole establishment, however, did not correspond with the ideas I had formed of the princely residence of the Atamán of the Don Kozáks.

Toward the close of the year 1817, Platóf's strength greatly failed; but he did not wish it to be believed that his end was approaching. He gave no respite to his mind, and continued his improvements civil and military. He had not patience to await the arrival of the Emperor, and took the resolution, in the month of November 1817, of going to Moscow, where His Imperial Majesty then held his court. He sent an adjutant to that capital to ask permission for this visit; and

having received it, he made preparations for setting off with the first snow-roads, so as to be there on the 12th of December, to share the festival of the Emperor's birthday. On account of some family arrangements, he set out for another estate near Taganróg. Here he caught cold, and his weakness augmented. Soon afterwards a stroke of apoplexy followed, and on the 3d of January 1818, this distinguished hero expired; or, in the words of his biographer, "he concealed himself in eternity!"

The following remarks of Mr. Smirnoi, with respect to Platóf, meet my unqualified approbation, being the language of all ranks of the Kozáks of the Don, from one end of their territory to the other. "The army lost in him a hero, whose name is famous throughout all the countries of the globe:—his country has to weep the departure of a zealous son:—the inhabitants of the Don have to lament a generous chieftain:—and the unfortunate and the poor have to regret a protector and a father."

Platóf's destiny was fixed. The day so eagerly expected, when he was to greet his sovereign at the triumphal gates, or to receive new tokens of Imperial regard, was never to dawn; yet this expectation had been long his darling delight, and occupied some of his last moments. What now would have availed his terrestrial distinctions;—his honours, and his crosses; his brilliants and

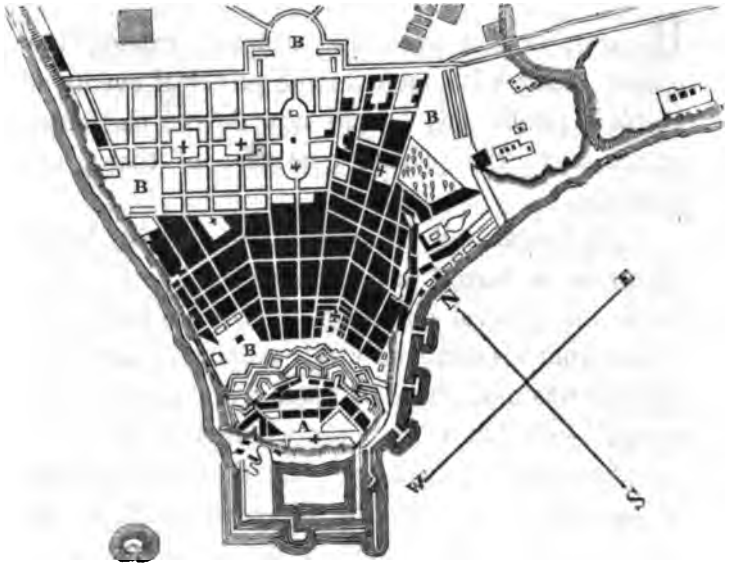
his swords;—imperial and royal, national and civic, testimonies of esteem for his arduous services and military prowess; if there had been no principle of virtue, no sense of religion, no foretaste of eternity, and no expectation of a happy immortality? However superstitious may have been the religion of Platóf, we must admire his open attachment to its ceremonies, and on all occasions, till the day of his death. He presented a brilliant example to adventurers in the career of military glory. His life showed that true heroism and religion never shine so conspicuously as when they go hand-in-hand to battle; are united together in civil life; or are associated at the awful, the sublime departure of the soul to Him who gave and who takes away.

Platóf had his failings, but they were concealed by his virtues during life; and in the silence of death, they may be overlooked.

The mortal remains of Platóf were transported to his house at Mishkin, and were afterwards buried with all the military honours which his rank and character demanded, in the church-yard of the unfinished cathedral of the Ascension, at Nóvo-Tcherkásk. Thus his bones, according to his wish, are gathered together in his natal soil, in the town which he founded, and are surrounded by a number of members of his family who had preceded him in the path of death.

I cannot but regret that no monument, deserv-

ing that name, has been erected over the grave of Platóf. It reflects disgrace on Russia, and more especially on the territory of the Don Kozáks, that a paltry square stone edifice, elevated but a few feet above the earth, is the only testimonial, the only remembrancer, of the brave and exemplary Platóf, which meets the traveller's eye. While on the spot, such were my feelings, but it is to be hoped that the subscription then talked of, for the purpose of raising a pyramid to a man who rose from the lowest rank to the highest distinction in his country merely by his own merit, has ere this been carried into effect. The best monument of Platóf, however, is to be found in the hearts of his countrymen, and in the records of his deeds. The work of Mr. Smirnoi will be read by future ages, when monuments yet to be erected shall have crumbled into dust.



CHAP. XX.

CONDUCT OF PLATÓF. — ANECDOTE. — HIS RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES. — CURIOUS ANECDOTE. — HIS WEAKNESS. — DISLIKES EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE. — ANECDOTE. — HIS KINDNESS AND HOSPITALITY TO BRITISH TRAVELLERS. — HIS LIBERALITY. — HIS STYLE OF LIVING. — STORIES RESPECTING HIS DAUGHTER AND HER DOWRY. — ANECDOTE. — PLATÓF'S BEHAVIOUR IN SOCIETY. — ALWAYS A TRUE KOZÁK. — HIS DROLLERY. — HIS AMUSEMENTS. — ANECDOTE. — HIS SUPERSTITION. — HIS MODE OF LIFE. — HIS RECEPTION OF GUESTS. — HIS POVERTY. HIS GENERAL CHARACTER. — HIS PORTRAIT AND PERSON. — HIS FUNERAL SERMON. — ELEGANT EXTRACTS FROM IT. — PLATÓF'S MARRIAGE. — HIS FAMILY. — HIS DEBTS AND PROPERTY. — NORTHERN LITERATURE. — DEPARTURE FROM NÓVOTCHERKÁSK. — NAKTSHIVÁN. — TAGANRÓG. — DESCRIPTION. — POPULATION. — COMMERCE. — QUARANTINE. — DEPARTURE FOR NIJNI-NOVGÓROD.

HAVING, in the preceding chapter, carried the reader along with me over the principal events of Platóf's public life, I shall now devote particular attention to the private character of that great chieftain.*

"All Russia, all Europe, all the world, know Platóf as a hero," says Mr. Smirnoi, "but few know his general character." We are informed, "that from his birth he was passionate; but that his fury was moderated by a sound and experienced mind;" — "that during his whole life he never brought any one into danger;"—"that in the course of the seventeen years the army was confided to him, he was not the cause of the misfortune of a single individual of inferior rank;"—and "that his hand always shook when he signed the severe sentence of an unfortunate man." — "It must not be concluded, however, that he was a weak commander; on the contrary, having always been strict to himself and to his family, he showed himself likewise so to his inferiors. No failure of duty, no important transgression was passed without examination. But he understood how to examine and how to punish, like a true father." He generally repeated, "that there was nothing easier in the world than to do wrong, nothing more dif-

* As we have already seen, our hero was born on the 6th of August, 1751, and died on the 3d of January 1818. The duration of his life was therefore sixty-six and a half years.

ficult than to do good;" — "that in this world there is no perfection, which belongs to the Creator alone;" — and other such moral sayings. "The honour and fame of the army were dear to him as his own." Officers he would thus address: "What rank have you? — What, an officer of the army of the Don! — to whom does honour belong, when thou rejoicest not at thy famous name, when thou forgettest God, father, mother, wife, or children? Did thy progenitors teach thee thus? For this dost thou behold upon thyself tokens of the monarch's kindness (alluding to crosses and orders), or ought I always to answer for you all? Be ashamed, sir, it is necessary to preserve honour in all things, and to fear God." * Platóf treated all ranks with condescension, and even with familiarity, in his youngest years, as well as in the pride of his career. Gratitude seems to have been a strong principle in him, for he preserved his attachment unchangeable toward those who had obliged him in his youth, and eagerly sought the means of repaying their kindness. He must have had a very retentive memory, since "On the Don, he not only knew in detail the talents of every general, but could name, without error, all the staff and superior officers of about 40,000 troops, and even many of the Kozáks. He knew whom to esteem, to approve, and to encourage;" and

* Vide p. 232. of this volume. Note.

those deserving of it bore marks of his approbation. He seldom or never erred in his choice of officers. He had an excellent custom of praising the common Kozáks for the good and zealous fulfilment of their duties. He ordered those who had so distinguished themselves to be presented to him, and generally asked, in the most affable manner, what was their own and their father's names. Having received an answer, as to the name of the father, he often remembered the name of the regiment in which he had served, and on such an occasion, turning to those around him, he said, "Behold, gentlemen, *I will tell you* *, I well remember his father; he was a very brave Kozák, and like myself, robust; I served with him in the Turkish campaign, and he did many important actions. Know, *I will tell you*, he partly resembles him, even in his gait. Now I am glad: God bless the Colonel, that he named him for this commission; from him I expect all that is good." Then turning to the Kozák, "Thou art the conductor of the Kurmonastinskoi station?" and being answered in the affirmative; — "So I remember. Do you know, gentlemen, that I even remember their house; his father was respected in the station. It happened that I once rode there, and scarcely remained any time with them; I saw your house," — again turn-

* *I will tell you*, was a proverbial expression of the Count's in every conversation, and was by far too often repeated.

ing to the Kozák; — "having entered the *stanítsa*, and having ascended the little hill upon the left in the cross-street, this, well, well I remember; they are even, *I will tell you*, good economists; tell me, does thy mother at least live, good old woman; and is there not some one besides in the family? It is time for thee to marry. I am happy to assist such punctual persons, and who have finished their time of service; to say nothing of bravery, it would be shameful for a Kozák not to be brave, and it is necessary to endeavour even more. What thinkest thou? Now God bless thee also: thanks from me to the colonel: endeavour in future to conduct thyself thus — increase confidence; yes, and I will look further after thy conduct; — thus, perhaps, I will advance thee: pray God for our gracious *Bátushka* *, the Emperor." And when the Kozák was elated with joy, making his obeisance to his chief — his father, he only wished to depart, when the Count detained him with a new question: "Dost thou drink *vodtki?*" and if he received a negative answer, he generally continued thus: "that is very well, *I will tell you;* — yet it is necessary for a Don Kozák, by little and little, to accustom himself: there happen bad weather, and snow-storms; and the Donskoi Kozák is always upon his horse, and in the field: — it sometimes

* *Bátushka* means grandfather, literally; but is also a term of the highest compliment bestowed on those we revere.

happens that he is not like himself; there, *I will tell you*, the best medicine is a small glass of something warm, and especially of spirits with mustard. Stop, I will treat thee with wine." Then, having called for wine, he presented it with his own hands. In this manner Platóf gained the hearts of the lower classes; — "he, as it were, electrified them, and they were ready to sacrifice their lives for him; they rejoiced both amidst fire and water." Every Kozák could appear before him, and speak his mind freely.

Platóf was well acquainted with the customs and the manners of the mountain tribes of the Caucasus, as well as of the Tartars and the Kalmucks domiciliated on the territory of the Don. When among them, it is said that he partook of their fare, even of their peculiar dishes and liquors. As is known by experience, this is the sure way to gain the confidence and esteem of the natives in every quarter of the globe.

The Atamán was penetrating, honourable, and humane, always ready to help the orphan, the poor, and the oppressed. His alms he distributed secretly. "Ostentatious vanity," said he, "is against God."

The firm preservation of the laws of the *true faith* was to him the most sacred duty. He evinced the greatest esteem for holy things. He allowed no opportunity to escape where he could show his fervour in the temples of God, or his zeal in pro-

moting charitable institutions. An instance of his charity is mentioned by his biographer. He had been informed, that in one of the monasteries at Pscof, an hospital for the wounded had been formed during the late campaign of 1812, and on his return to Petersburgh, he forwarded a thousand roubles to assist the institution.

Platof's "devotion and veneration to the monarch, and to all the Imperial family, were without bounds. Every word, every Imperial favour, *filled him with ecstasy.*" In this he manifested something ignoble, and unbecomingly slavish toward superiors; an error not easily to be avoided in a despotic country like Russia, where rank is more generally and eagerly sought after than scientific superiority or literary distinction, than virtue, morality, or even religion. *

The following account, while it makes known a curious practice, is in coincidence with the preceding remark, and I regret, for our hero's character, that it should ever have seen the light. "In the reign of Catharine II., there existed a custom, as a token of the monarch's benevolence to the *Voiskovoi Atamán* of the forces of the Don, of making a present annually to his spouse of those clothes with which Her Majesty had been dressed on the first day of the year. Although Platóf did not hold that station, yet by his eminent services

* Vide Character of the Russians, p. xii.

he had the happiness of being known and distinguished by the Empress; and at various times he received marks of her benevolence. Whether by the instigation of his spouse, or through his own wish to gratify her by a *monarchical* favour from the sovereign, which was then allowed only to the spouse of the Atamán of the Don, he resolved to endeavour to procure this favour for himself, by means of individuals who were placed about Her Majesty. But he was refused, and no doubt without the knowledge of the Empress. From this he inferred that the Empress was disaffected towards him, an idea which threw him into such deep affliction, that he soon became seriously ill, and the consequences might have been fatal, if his friend, the late Count Valerian Zúbof, had not set the affair right. Having heard of Platóf's affliction and disease, without informing him, that nobleman made them known, as well as their cause, to the Empress. The great Catharine received the news with feeling, and moreover manifested her anger at those who had dared, without her knowledge, to refuse the object of Platóf's prayer, and at the same time ordered the clothes to be sent to his spouse. This altogether unexpected favour of the monarch soon recovered Platóf's health, and restored his drooping spirit. He could not divine to whom he was indebted for procuring this distinguished kindness of the Empress, and it was not till long after that he knew who was its

true author. These clothes of Catharine are still preserved in Platof's family, as well as other valuable presents from the same monarch. Among them is a silver twenty-five kopeek-piece, which was presented to him on the following occasion, by the present Dowager Empress. "During his residence at Petersburgh, he had sometimes the happiness to form one of a party at boston. It once happened, that he won six roubles from the Empress, and that she paid him with a five rouble note and the piece of silver mentioned. Platóf kissed the last, saying to those around him. 'This *tchetverták* * received from the hand of our *Mátushka* †, the Empress, my benefactress, will long be preserved, and will pass to my latest successors, who will remember what is suitable to a free subject, and condescending benevolence in a great monarch.'"

"In his occupations with the affairs of the service, Platóf was extremely circumspect and attentive. But having passed the greatest part of his life in the field, in the midst of camps and of bivouacks, he felt some reluctance at epistolary

* The fourth part of a silver rouble, nearly the size of a shilling.

† Mátushka, grandmother, or a term of familiarity only used when great reverence is intended. *Bátushka* and *Mátushka* are the kindest appellations applied to the Emperor and the Empress. They are often used in that sense by the peasants. When they have a kind master or mistress, they also apply these terms to them. Vide note, p. 255. of this Volume.

correspondence." He often said, that it would be easier for him to gain two or three victories, than to occupy himself with civil affairs, which gave him the vertigo. Yet when he did enter upon this kind of business, he is said to have performed it with accuracy and perseverance, and, as we shall see hereafter, to have devoted much time to his civil duties.

Not having seen Napoleon, Platóf loved neither his generals nor his ministers; he especially disliked Caulincourt, who was the Ex-emperor's ambassador at the St. Petersburgh court. He, with other Russian generals, sometimes dined at his house by invitation. Caulincourt gave a dinner on the occasion of having received from Paris a full-length portrait of Napoleon. Platóf was asked to the fête. He arrived with the late Prince Barclay De Tolli, who was then minister of war. When they entered the room in which the portrait was placed, the Count having looked at it, as if unwillingly, called out loud enough, "That is painted in joke."* The minister of war, by a significant look, instantly put him in mind of his carelessness, and he was silent. A servant, who had overheard Platóf, immediately informed Caulincourt, and apparently others, who came and asked while smiling, "*Is it painted as a hoax?*" But the Count affected not

* By this I suppose was meant, that the portrait greatly flattered Napoleon.

to understand them, and enquired what they meant. Caulincourt was so much hurt by this remark, that he addressed himself to the Emperor. When His Majesty asked Platóf about the matter, he made the following frank and faithful reply. "Gosudár (Sovereign)! before God, and before you, nothing is concealed by me. What is to be done? Gosudár, politics I know not, and those words as it were stole from my tongue. I would wish to know, how Mr. Caulincourt did not altogether abjure my society, and deliver me from superfluous honour by his invitations. I am not accustomed to French meats; *stchi* and *kasha* * form our soldier's food." From this time, Caulincourt ceased to invite Platóf to his dinners; but at Paris they had a peculiar kind of interview. There, not only Caulincourt himself renewed his acquaintance with him, but recommended him also to Marshal Ney. This happened during his first *séjour* at Paris, on the balcony of the palace of the Bourbons, where the Emperor was pleased to have his residence. †

In order to testify unequivocally his gratitude

* *Stchi* is cabbage-soup, and *kasha* is boiled millet mixed with butter or oil, during the fasts. Vide Character of the Russians, p. 482.

† This slavish mode is always used by inferiors in Russia, when speaking of superiors, lords, and masters. Instead of saying, "When did our master arrive?—Where did he reside in Moscow?"—they say "When did our master *please* to arrive?—Where did our lord *choose* to reside?"

to England for his kind reception in 1814, Platóf endeavoured to return it to British travellers who passed through the country of the Don Kozáks. He received all of them who were, during his last residence, at Nóvo-Tcherkásk, with distinguished regard. * "He treated them as well as possible, and even anticipated their wishes. In a word, he endeavoured to inspire them with reverence for the Russian nation, and the Donskoi Kozáks. Many well-known Englishmen arriving from India or from Persia, where they had been travelling with their baggage on horseback, required equipages. The Count, as soon as he knew that they were about to bargain, immediately anticipated them, paid the money, and sent the vehicle to them, as if it had been his own; and generally did not permit them to be at any expence in his country."

Colonel Johnson had desired an equipage to be bought for him at 2,000 roubles. The same evening Count Platóf made him and his party a visit, and drank tea with them. "In the conversation,"

* In a note are enumerated the visitors who had been at Count Platof's, and as it gives an idea of the taste in a military country of bestowing military titles, I shall copy it. It runs thus, "*Major Chatterton, Colonel Beaumont, Captains Strachey, Porter, Salter, and Colonel and Chevalier Johnson.*" As a man is nothing without some apparent rank, he must assume a title, or if he do not, the natives will give him one according to their ideas of his station in life; of this they judge by his appearance, his equipage, his servants, &c.

says the Colonel, "I accidentally mentioned that his secretary had had the kindness to assist us in looking out for a carriage; and had met with an excellent one, nearly new, which we had requested him to purchase for us. I had imagined that the Count would be pleased on hearing that this good office had been performed towards us: but, on the contrary, he declared, that the carriage in which he had come should be given to us, and begged our acceptance of it for his sake, hoping that we would keep it in remembrance of him. I endeavoured to decline accepting this present in every possible way. Mr. Grassman, who interpreted for us with the Count respecting our intended purchase, mentioned to him the person to whom the carriage belonged; but the Count, addressing him in the Russian language, enjoined him, *as he valued his friendship, not to allow us to purchase any thing here;* saying, 'These Englishmen will go away, but you will remain behind; if they buy any carriage, you shall never see my face again: you must tell them it is a mistake, and the carriage cannot be sold. I shall send them one of mine. Now,' continued he, 'as you value my support, say nothing of this until they have my carriage.' The carriage was accordingly sent; and by the Count's orders was also stored with provisions, wine, game, and even fruit, packed in large wide-mouthed bottles!

"The frank, open, and unrestrained hospitality

of this veteran warrior could not fail to inspire us with the warmest feelings of respect. We had come upon him, as it were, without formal introduction *, and with no other claim to his notice, than that of our being British officers; and we were received on the footing of friends who had been long acquainted. That qualification of being British officers, alone, seemed a sufficient passport to his regard; and he appeared happy in having an opportunity to testify his sincere friendship for a nation which had greeted him with so many expressions of esteem and admiration.—It was very easy to see that Count Platóf really delighted to speak of England: and that his encomiums were not the mere dictates of courtesy, but flowed spontaneously from the heart." †

I cannot avoid also alluding to the high strain in which Sir R. K. Porter speaks of Platóf, although that author is generally charged with a degree of flattery towards persons in high rank and eminent situations. "All Europe," says he, "has heard of him as a hero; but we must visit his country to know him as he is,—the father of his people,

* This is certainly not quite correct; for the Colonel tells us, in another part of his work, that he received an introductory letter from General Yermólof. This letter now lies before me in print, in the Life of Platóf; and it is clear, that the Colonel was recommended in very handsome terms.

† A Journey from India to England, &c. by Lieutenant-Colonel John Johnson, C. B. p. 314. 1818.

as well as their general.—He expressed, in the most enthusiastic language, his sense of the attentions bestowed on him by all ranks of persons during his stay in England in the year 1814; he said, that, independently of private respect for individuals, he must always consider himself fortunate, when circumstances brought any Englishman into the Donskoy country." *

We were treated in the most polite and affable manner by the present Atamán, General Ilovaiskii. We dined with him, after having had the use of his carriage. At our departure, we naturally thanked him for his kindness. This drew forth a compliment to ourselves; but what was of more consequence, to the British nation. "Gentlemen," he replied, "my late worthy and distinguished predecessor, Count Platóf, after his visit to London in 1814, only ceased to speak with the highest encomiums, and the most enthusiastic feelings of gratitude to the British nation, when he ceased to exist. I am sorry at your short stay at Nóvo-Tcherkásk, as it prevents me showing you those attentions which Platóf, had he been in life, would gladly have done." He then proceeded to say, that he should be happy on all future occasions, in as far as in him lay, to replace Platóf in his attentions to Britons, not only in order to diminish the load of debt under which the Count still lay in

* Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, &c. by Sir R. K. Porter, vol. i. p. 26. 1821.

that respect; but also to have an opportunity of expressing his own sentiments; which, founded upon a more limited experience, completely coincided with the Count's.

"Interest was altogether foreign to the heart of Platóf. In his accounts it is not enough to say that he was not narrow: he was liberal even to superfluity. He conducted himself not according to his *circumstances*, but consistently with his high rank, of which he himself was the ornament. He liked every where to show himself a *real grandee (nastoyastchii Bárin)*. Trifling affairs could not occupy him; he even despised them; although he well knew that attention to them might assist his moderate situation: but he could not change himself; because he lived not for himself, but for the service. It often happened, that he had no more than 300 or 400 roubles in the house; but the exterior changed not: he continued to live like a *millionaire* (this word is adopted in Russ). He could not even have left Petersburgh the last time he was there for want of money, if the Emperor had not graciously allowed him to receive a loan for four years, from the Imperial Bank, of 100,000 roubles." Thus we see how unjust and ill-founded were the conclusions of the public. Many reckoned he was worth millions: but his death revealed too faithfully, "that to his heirs, he left 300,000 roubles of debt, — *and only two thousand souls without land*: because, as is well known,

the land of the Don territory belongs, in common, to the whole forces, and cannot be appropriated for the uses of the possessors."

I well remember, and my readers will also recall to mind, the various reports which were in circulation in this metropolis during the campaign of 1812-13. The veteran was said to have offered his daughter in marriage, and her weight of gold as her dowry, to the individual who should deliver to him the conqueror of Europe, Napoleon, dead or alive. This fable, under a modification, even found a place in a justly celebrated review. There, it is said, that "the veteran Platóf, whose blood had been so often shed in the defence of Russia on former occasions, now showed his ardour for the cause in which he was engaged, by promising his daughter, and 200,000 roubles, to the hero who should rid the world of the invader." * The said lady was painted in the brightest colours of fancy, and her portrait caught the attention of the passers by, in the shop-windows of London and Edinburgh, and even in the provincial towns of our island. She was beautiful, her father was a hero, and riches abounded at Nóvo-Tcherkásk. But alas! for the Atamán's successors, there was no foundation for such reports: Platóf was never rich, I believe he was in difficulty, if not in debt; and, what is more extraordinary,

* Quarterly Review, vol. viii. p. 459.

he had no daughter *unmarried* in 1812. But such a report, though an imposition, was congenial to the general feeling of the British nation at the time, and thus it met with ready belief. When we lately had the pleasure of dining at the table of Platóf's successor, I repeated the story as told above, and in the language of the country, so that all present understood. The recital was followed by bursts of laughter; at the cessation of which, one of his best friends told us, that it was indeed a great mistake. "Platóf," said he, "was always poor, because he was always liberal; and had he had a daughter to marry in 1812, instead of thousands of roubles, or her weight of gold, if he could have given the weight *of one of her ears of that metal in dowry*, it was his utmost!"

"Platóf was of a very gay character, and liked society, and, above all, friendly conversations; but a distracted and noisy life, was altogether opposite to his turn of mind; and, *besides, he reckoned it dangerous for his health.* In his communications with the ladies he was *eminently* polite, attentive, respectful and affable. He had a thousand means of engaging them, and thus of flattering their weakness; such as foretelling the future by cards, explaining dreams, playing at boston, and other games, &c. &c.—In a word, he understood how to conduct himself properly in every society. Of the delicacy and etiquette of the fashionable world he was not ignorant. He knew all; remembered

all; but he adopted the usages of society in a manner peculiar to himself, always wishing to show himself in the character of a true Kozák."

His drollery was not of the most elevated description. He often purposely pronounced words improperly: thus, instead of Warsaw, he said Arsaw! of Talleyrand, Teilaran, &c. In consequence of these peculiarities, many were deceived at the first meeting, and concluded that he was only famous as a soldier, and thought not of seeking any other qualifications. But, if we can trust his biographer's judgment, in Platóf were associated "the talents of an illustrious soldier, of a penetrating politician, and of an agreeable civilian." Many individuals who saw him in London will no doubt have their own opinion as to this praise.

During his residence upon the Don, Platóf's leisure was occupied in fishing, hunting, and attention to his stud and cattle, of which he was an amateur. He, according to the custom of his countrymen (who are greatly employed in fishing), passed whole days in this amusement, and ordered fish-soup to be made for him under some straw-hut in the field, in which he was also wont to address the young Kozáks of his suite, and animate their ardent minds to the pursuit of virtue and of military fame. He spoke to them in such terms as these: "Fishing and hunting are more agreeable to me than the most splendid ball. We were not born to walk in parks, nor to sit upon velvet cushions;

there we might forget the profession for which we were born. It is our business to walk in the fields, and through marshes, and to sit in straw-huts, and, what is better, under the open canopy of heaven, so that the ardent heat of the sun, and all kinds of bad weather, may never prove oppressive to us."

With all his uncommon mind, the Count was somewhat superstitious. He believed in presentiments and dreams, which, as he said, seldom deceived him. He related, that before the death of Prince Potyémkin, he had a dream, which was its manifest presage. His deliverance from confinement in the reign of Paul, and his appointment as Atamán in the time of Alexander, he likewise divined in his dreams. "By the brilliancy of the stars, by the progress of the moon, and by the changes in the atmosphere, he foretold the weather a week in advance;" and, according to Mr. Smirnoi, his presages were often accurate. "He said, that by the stars God informed us where to go; and actually the Kozáks, instructed by him, confirmed this; they knew not at all the places upon the maps, nor the language of those countries through which they passed, yet they every where sought out strange towns and villages, merely marked by the signs how they lay, from the east and west, the north and south."

The Count had learned to pass whole nights without sleep, and afterwards to sit up late with Prince Potyémkin. He could not lie down to

sleep till four or five o'clock in the morning, and he awoke at eight o'clock. But that he might have some repose for his body at least, he sometimes remained in bed till ten or eleven o'clock, when affairs did not require his presence. But these hours did not pass in inactivity, for in bed he thought of the affairs in which he was engaged, and made arrangements for the day's occupation. He frequently called the officers to him, and gave them various commissions to execute. When he rose from bed, his first thoughts were turned to God; he always worshipped with earnestness. He then received the police-master of Nóvo-Tcherkásk, and after him other officers, according to their turn. "His *morning occupations* he did not finish before five o'clock *p. m.* and at six o'clock he sat down to dinner, not having taken even a lunch." At his table there was always society, which consisted of visitors and travellers, and the inmates of his house. He was fond of conversation, and therefore remained at table at least four hours. He esteemed this the most agreeable time of the day, and even called it a luxury. He liked to relate curious anecdotes, and he himself engrossed the greater part of the conversation. But Platóf was not displeased if any one asked him to give an opportunity of speaking. His harangues generally endured so long, that many were unable to remain at table, and quietly withdrew. After dinner, but upon the same table, tea was served on a silver service.

The Count did not like to drink coffee, and only used it in the morning. Of tea he repeated these words — "It, *I will tell you*, is very healthful, and liquefies the blood, but coffee thickens it." After dinner (*i. e.* about ten or eleven o'clock, *p. m.*) he took no more than an hour's repose; he then recommenced his duties, which were seldom finished before two o'clock in the morning; but, as he could not yet sleep, he passed a couple or more hours with some favourite individual of his suite, and the rest of the twenty-four hours were devoted to sleep.

In the *reception of guests*, an important and highly valued quality in the Russian empire, which is dignified by the appellation of *Gostopriémstvo*, Platóf was distinguished. Nothing was thought too dear for their entertainment. At his parties he made no distinction of persons; all were treated alike. Besides sumptuous ceremonial dinners on festivals, there were three tables at his house every day, as he always had guests with him. * He also supported all his suite, whether upon the Don, in the capitals of Russia, or in foreign countries. Strangers he frequently accommodated in his house; and, when that was inconvenient, quarters were ordered,

* The value of *Gostopriémstvo* is here sufficiently explained. Good dinners, plenty of wine, and a welcome reception, be the individual ever so ignorant or uncultivated, will soon make him notorious, and he will have plenty of guests.

and kitchens, provisions and equipages, were provided for them.

After these details, and bearing in mind that his revenues were never great, need we be surprised that Platóf was always poor?

The veteran is said to have taught his children to be true Christians, to be faithful to their sovereign and their country, and to spend little by giving them little. He was more strict with his relations than with strangers. He was the father of his peasants, and rejoiced, even to tears, at their good fortune. He would not displace his stewards, when a relation pointed out that they received more revenue than he himself, as already recorded in a curious anecdote. * "He," says his biographer, "was terrible in battle to the enemies of his country; in peace he was a distinguished chief and citizen, an esteemed parent, a tender and attentive father, a true friend, and a benevolent master and commander." That this is not the empty language of posthumous flattery, every one must be convinced who visits the country of the Kozáks of the Don.

"Platóf was of tall stature; his hair was dark coloured; his eyes were greyish-blue and penetrating; his physiognomy was agreeable; his demeanour was affable; his person was upright and well built; his gait was easy; and his exterior, *in toto*, was majestic."

* Vide p. 136. Vol. I.

What may be called the funeral sermon of Platóf, was delivered, on the 13th of January 1818, in the Donskoi monastery at Moscow, by the eminent *archimandrite*, Eugenius. My limits merely allow me to quote a few sentences from this sermon, which are equally illustrative of Russian eloquence, and of the character of the hero of our narrative. The divine thus begins: "From the smooth flowing Don, the news fly like lightning, and strike like thunder:—Platóf is dead! How rapidly the glory of his deeds spreads from mouth to mouth! how swiftly, and how far, from village to village, from town to town, and from kingdom to kingdom, is conveyed the sad intelligence:—Platóf is dead!

"The military are in despair; the citizens are sorrowful; the army of the Don is penetrated with affliction, is oppressed with sighs, is bathed in tears. All Russia is grieved at the loss of a great hero, so terrible to her enemies."

"No! our hero did not found his immortal deeds upon earth. Religion was the spirit of all his virtues, and of all his combats. He was faithful to the monarch, because he was faithful to the Lord: he was devoted to his terrestrial country, because he never allowed a heavenly country to escape from his thoughts: he was the father of the people confided to his care, because *he breathed the spirit of his* heavenly Father: he feared not death,

because he felt with St. Paul, '*For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.*'" *

"Great God! who could stand before the severity of thy judgment? We pray thee, by the blood of thy well-beloved Son, do not enter into judgment with thy servant; cover him with thy mercy; and let *our Abraham* dwell in Abraham's bosom."

Mr. Smirnoi gives no account of Platóf's marriage, nor does he inform us who his wife was. We learn, however, that her name was Martha Dmitriévna, that she was a widow, and had at least two children when the Atamán married her, and that she died in the year 1812. Judging from the age of Platóf's children, it is probable that he was married about the year 1790.

The following information was derived from Colonel Nozikómof.

Count Platóf had three sons and four daughters. The eldest son was married, and has left behind him one son and one daughter. To these children, Platóf bequeathed 900 souls — their father's portion. The widow is still living, and the son is now a colonel, and bears the name of Matvei Ivánovitch, the same as his grandfather, and has the title of count, and his sister that of countess. The second son of the Atamán, as we have already seen, was a major-general in the army, and distin-

* Phil. i. 21.

guished himself in the French campaign. He was not married.* Platóf's third son, — Matvéitch, is now living: he had the misfortune to lose one of his cheeks by the bursting of a musket. He is married, and has one daughter. Like Platóf's oldest grandson, he also received 900 souls at his father's death; while 200 were divided among the other members of the family. He sometimes resides upon the family estate, Mishkin, but more frequently at some distance in the country, for the sake of economy; his revenues being scarcely sufficient to enable him to live, even in the cheap town of Nóvo-Tcherkásk.

Of Platóf's four daughters, the two elder are dead, and buried with their father. The other two are still living: they were both married before the year 1812; the elder, Anna Matvéèvna, to Colonel Kharitónof, who has three sons and one daughter; the younger, Maria Matvéèvna, to Major-general Grékof, who has no children, and who accompanied her husband to Paris in 1812-13-14. Mr. Smirnoi also mentions the step-daughter of Platóf, who is married to the present Atamán of the Kozáks, Lieutenant-general Nikolai Vassiliévitch Ilovaĭskii, and his step-son, Colonel Kirsan Pávlovitch Kirsánof. All the members of the family are now residing in, or near, Nóvo-Tcherkásk.

At his death, Platóf was in debt 100,000 roubles

* Vide page 242. of this Vol.

to the crown, and 200,000 roubles to individuals. The property he left behind him consisted, as mentioned, of 2000 peasants, besides the estate of Mishkin, and the ground and foundation of a palace in Nóvo-Tcherkásk. The heirs are gradually paying off the debt, and already the crown has received nearly the whole of the amount due to it. They must still live economically, however, for a number of years to enable them annually to pay off a part of the debt from their revenues. I shall close this account with a few important facts with respect to northern literature.

At the time Smirnoi's Life, &c. of Platóf was published, I find, by the list of subscribers, at its conclusion, that their number amounted nearly to 600; and I believe 1000 or 1500 copies were sold. This is a very great edition of such a work in Russia. Among these 600 subscriptions are the names of a number of nobles, and a few merchants and burgesses. The chief sale of the work, however, had place among the officers and the privates of the Kozák army. A few Kozáks subscribed individually; but more generally the whole of a *stanítsa*, or village, subscribed; and above eighty *stanítsas* are enumerated. So great was the enthusiasm with which Platóf was regarded, and so dear his memory, that subscriptions from his former soldiers and countrymen stationed in Georgia, Bessarabia, Poland, Finland, and Siberia, are enrolled. This fact is the more remarkable, because, though

the three parts of the work, including the long list of subscribers, do not form more than 600 pages, and are adorned only by nine inferior engravings, each copy was sold for twenty-five roubles paper; a most extraordinary high price in Russia.*

After so long and so interesting a digression, I shall now return to our travels.

On the evening of the 16th of July, we left Nóvo-Tcherkásk, and arrived on the morning of the 17th at Taganróg. The country was hilly, and, as we approached that town, signs of cultivation, plantations, and corn-fields, gave a cheerful aspect to its vicinity. We had no opportunity of examining Naktshiván, (or, as it is often written, Nakhitchíván), which received its name from the ancient town upon the left bank of the Araxes, already noticed, and, like it, is inhabited by Armenians.† This town or colony was founded in 1780, in the reign of Catherine II., by the Armenian merchants who emigrated from the Krimea, and has ever been prosperous, because its inhabitants have been industrious. Pallas and Clarke have both given interesting accounts of it, as well as of Rostof, which leave little room for addition.

Taganrog is situated upon a promontory which

* The curious reader may contrast my account of the literature of Russia with the above facts in The Character of the Russians, &c. p. cxxiv.

† Vide p. 475. of this Volume.

advances into the Sea of Azoph, under East long. 42° 6, and North lat. 47° 10. Its name is composed of two Russian words, *Tagán*, a tripod, and *Rog*, a horn. At one time a light-house or lantern was placed upon the point of the promontory, by the Turks, and it is conjectured that it was supported upon a tripod; hence the fanciful derivation of the name of the town.

The advantages and disadvantages of Taganróg, as a commercial port, have been repeatedly discussed by writers. The reader desirous of examining these, as well as its history, is referred to the works of Pallas, Reuilly, Clarke, Castelnau, &c..

Taganróg is become a place of considerable importance, and is really a fine town, though small. The streets are very broad and regular, but not paved. The houses are built both of stone and wood, and are tastefully painted. The fortress, however, contains a number of low, mean dwellings. The total number of edifices in the town were reckoned, in 1820, at 2,000. The vignette prefixed to this chapter, gives an excellent idea of its plan. *

In 1802, a particular governor was appointed for Taganróg, under whose administration were

* Pallas's twenty-fifth plate is a view of Taganróg, but this place is greatly improved and augmented since the time it was taken.

placed, in 1807, the commercial towns of Nakt-shivan, Rostóf, and Mariopole, with their jurisdictions. Then a committee was formed for public edifices, and the state of the customs, of the police, and of other public institutions, was improved. Barracks, a quarantine, an hospital, a custom-house, and an exchange, &c., were erected, and a public garden was formed.

Among the edifices most worthy of remark, are the shops or bazárs, the cathedral, and two Russian churches, besides the Catholic church.

At one period, the population of Taganróg is said to have amounted to 70,000 souls; but, according to a treaty between Turkey and Russia, in 1711, this town was rased to the ground. By the treaty of Kainardji, in 1774, it was definitively given up to Russia, and since that period, it has continued to make more or less advancement, according to favourable or unfavourable circumstances. In 1790, according to Pallas, the population of this town amounted to 6,000 souls: of whom 2,000 were sailors, under the orders of the captain of the port; 1,500 were attached to the garrison, under the commandant of the town; and 2,500 were merchants. In 1810, Dr. Clarke says, that its population did not exceed 5,000 souls; but he neither assigns the cause of this low calculation, nor gives the divisions of which it admitted; but he informs us, that he saw in it the representatives of fifteen different nations assembled together at

the same time. In 1812, Vsévolojskii, following Pallas, says, the population of the town in question, was 6,000 souls: and, in 1820, Castelnau makes it amount to 7,651; and, during summer, when the ships arrive, to double this number.

We were told by an excellent authority, which I do not name for fear of compromising the individual, that in 1822, the population of Taganróg, in summer, when there were many ships in the harbour, was often as high as 12,000; but at other times that it did not exceed 9,000 or 10,000.

The chief inhabitants of Taganróg are Russians, Tartars, Greeks, Germans, Italians, French, and English.

In the year 1775, the commerce of Taganróg, if it deserve such an appellation, amounted to seven roubles and twenty kopeeks, importation; and 109 roubles and thirty kopeeks, exportation.* Pallas states the amount of the importation in 1792, at 97,653 roubles, and that of exportation at 370,551 roubles; and in 1793, that of importation at 156,058, and that of exportation at 428,087 roubles. Stchékatof informs us, that from seventy to 120 ships annually arrive at Taganróg; that the amount of importation was 2,340,115 roubles; and that of exportation 2,272,374, in 1806.

* View of the Russian Empire, vol. iii. p. 591.

The following table respecting the importation at Taganróg, in 1813, is translated literally from Herrmann's Observations upon the Commerce of the Interior of Russia, which takes place by water :—

MERCHANDISE.	IMPORTATION.
(1) *Of the Vegetable Kingdom.*	
Rye-Flour	57,200 poods.
Hemp	for 82,400 roubles.
Coarse linen	for 600 ditto.
Fine thread	for 600 ditto.
Cotton and linen cloth, posts & logs of wood for building	55,473 pieces, and for 100 roubles.
Planks	48,885 pieces.
Small planks	250,209 ditto.
Bark of the lime-tree	10,555 ditto.
Mats	74,000 ditto.
Charcoal	460 poods, and for 22,500 roubles.
Wooden utensils	2,300 pieces, and for 139,650 roubles.
Wheels	1,100 pieces.
Carts	3,032 pieces, and for 20,700 roubles.
Forest-trees	42,950 pieces.
Firewood	870 sajins.
Furniture	for 100 roubles.
Tinder	12 poods.
Tar	13,300 ditto.
Peas	53,890 ditto.
Vinegar	for 2,100 roubles.
Tea	50 poods.
Sugar	155 ditto.
Persian Tobacco	160 ditto.

MERCHANDISE.	IMPORTATION.
(2) *Of the Mineral Kingdom.*	
Steel	6,000 poods.
Iron in bars	1,010,750 poods.
Wrought iron	for 52,809 roubles.
Scythes	4,500 pieces.
Axes and pick-axes	23,000 ditto.
Copper-money	235,000 roubles.
Fire-arms and ammunition	206,000 poods, and 100 pieces.
Dutch-ware	1,180 poods, and for 3,500 roubles.
Pottery-ware	18,000 pieces and 3 baskets.
Tile-stoves	600 pieces.
(3) *Of the Animal Kingdom.*	
Butter	11,220 poods.
Salt, dried and smoked fish	4,400 ditto.
Caviár	16,532 ditto.
Candles	300 ditto.
Furs	50 poods and 50 bales.

The commerce of importation by the Don, amounted, in 1813, to 4,327,084 roubles.* In 1822, the commerce of Taganróg was by no means active.

The quarantine lies at the distance of five versts from the town, on the side of a small bay. It is a remarkably neat and well-managed establishment, and merits the examination of the traveller.

* Vide Données Statistiques sur le Commerce de l'Intérieur de la Russie, que s'est fait par eau en 1813; par C. Th. Herrmann. Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Petersbourg, vol. v. p. 662. and 698.

When we were at Taganróg, it was in a state of inactivity. The Greeks, who compose nearly two-thirds of the population, had, two years before, quarrelled with the governor of the town. They accused him of great impropriety of conduct, in consequence of which he was regularly tried by a court of law, and had been honourably acquitted. He had not yet returned to the town. It was expected by many of the foreigners, that with his return, activity and prosperity would again be seen at Taganróg.

General Shàùfus, who was acting *pro tempore* as governor, and with whom we dined, advised us to take separate roads to Nízni-Nóvgorod, as we should find it impossible to get horses for two carriages at the post-stations, so many merchants and nobles being on the route to the same place. Accordingly, two of our party pursued their course back to Nóvo-Tcherkásk, and from thence through Pénsa to Nízni-Nóvgorod; while the other, including myself, resolved to proceed through Voronéje for the same destination. We also determined not to follow the regular post-road, by Khárkof, Kursk, &c.; but to take a shorter route, according to the stations mentioned in the itinerary at the end of this volume.

CHAP. XXI.

DEPARTURE FROM TAGANRÓG. — *STEP.* — USPÉNSKOYÉ. — LÚGAN IRON-WORKS. — ARRIVAL AT JÉLTOYÉ SÉLO. — ANECDOTE. — DROWNING OF OUR SERVANT. — HIS FUNERAL. — VILLAGE JÉLTOYÉ SÉLO. — FINE COUNTRY. — DANCING. — STAROBÉLSK. — OSTROGÓJSK. — CHARACTER OF RUSSIAN MERCHANTS. — METHOD OF BARGAINING. — ANECDOTE. — PREMIUMS TO PURCHASERS. — GERMAN COLONY. — VORONÉJE. — ITS HISTORY. — PRESENT STATE. — COMMERCE. — ANECDOTE. — A EUNUCH. — SUPPLY OF CORN. — DR. CLARKE'S EXTRAVAGANCE. — CAUSES OF HIS PARTIAL ACCOUNTS. — MILENETS. — ZADÓNSK. — YÉLETS. — YEPHRÉMOF. — BOGHORÓDITSK. — TÚLA. — SÉRPUCHOF. — PUNISHMENT OF A POST-BOOR. — MOSCOW. — BOGHORÓDSK. — POKRÓF. — VLADÍMIR. — ITS HISTORY. — PRESENT STATE. — CATHEDRAL. — CHURCHES. — POPULATION. — FAMOUS FOR CHER-

RIES. — THE KLIASMA. — SÚDOGDA. — MÚROM. — IRON-WORKS AT VIXA. — TRICK OF POST-BOORS. — MONAKÓVO. — ROGUERY OF ITS SMOTRÍTEL. — BOGHORÓDSKOYÉ. — ARRIVAL AT NÍJNI-NÓVGOROD. — THE VOLGA. — THE OKA.

On the evening of the 18th of July, we left Taganróg. Except a few corn-fields contiguous to the town, the vicinity is bleak and barren. At the first station, called Korovyé Brode, we crossed the Mius river by an excellent ferry, which is kept by a Malo-Russian, who exhibited a degree of stupidity not common among that people. No interrogation or explanation could obtain from him the name of the river just spoken of. On being asked its name, he said "it was a river;" and when pressed to say what river, he replied, "that a river was water." The country through which we proceeded was gently undulating, but completely of the nature of *step*. It gradually loses this feature as we recede from Taganróg. Between Ivánovskoyé and Uspénskoyé, there are numerous corn-fields, and many villages surrounded by trees. In the village Ivánovskoyé is a good house, which belongs to a General Shtiaret, with a couple of huge and grotesque Kalmuck idols, many of which we had noticed near Stávropole and Taganróg, and which are described and represented by Pallas and Porter. They give the whole body, every part of which is uncommonly pendulous, and are the most perfect we any where remarked. The village Uspénskoyé is much enlivened by the

mansion of General Shevitch, and a large church which looks well at a distance, but has great architectural defects when closely examined. On the left of the road leading from Uspénskoyé to Lúgan, is a vale of great length, which was covered with fine crops of corn and hay, and is bounded by hills. White-washed villages, scattered over the country, and surrounded by trees, give an aspect of cheerfulness and comfort, which forms a striking contrast to the gloomy abodes of the Russian peasants farther to the north.

The iron-works and cannon-foundery at Lúgan, called *Lúganskoĭ Zavóde*, are among the most extensive in the empire, and are supplied with iron from Siberia. They occupy an immense space of ground, and have a very respectable appearance. They were formerly under the direction of Sir Charles Gascoigne, a British outlaw, who had been superintendant of the Carron Works in Scotland. The secrets he had learnt there, he betrayed to the Russian government, and was rewarded accordingly.* From Lúgan the artillery is conveyed by water to the ports of the Black Sea, Sevástopole, Nikoläef, &c.

The adjoining village, Kamennŏi Brode, which is on the north side of the river Lúgan, is very large. All its inhabitants are Malo-Russians, and are employed in the fabric, the *yamstchiks* or post-boors excepted.

* Vide Clarke's Travels, p. 256. 298.

At Lúgan we quitted the usual route, arrived about half-past nine o'clock in the evening at Jéltoyé Sélo, and as it was moonlight, determined to continue our journey in the night. The post-master got our *podorójné* inscribed, and then went and reported us to the *Atamán*, or chief of the village, which is mostly inhabited by Malo-Russians. Meantime an officer arrived, who asked for horses immediately. The moment ours came in sight, he seized them, and ordered them to be put to his carriage. This, of course, we resisted, but not without a serious dispute. We then took hold of the horses, and ordered them to be harnessed to our carriage. The post-master reasoned with the officer upon the impropriety of his conduct; in answer to which, the latter, in a most vehement tone, ordered his servant, a soldier, to whip the former. The post-master being a man of spirit, returned the blows, and a scuffle ensued. We departed with the most indignant feelings at the power which this officer took upon himself, against all law; conduct in which he has numerous imitators, every day, throughout the Russian empire.

After proceeding less than a verst, we reached the sandy banks of the Donets, where we halted. Our servant alighted and called to the ferrymen, who were on the opposite side of the river; to make them hear, he advanced upon a *jetée*, though the coachman desired him repeatedly to

stop. We were immediately alarmed by a cry from the coachman, that the servant had fallen into the water. We jumped out by the opposite doors of the carriage, and ran to the *jettée:* all was already silent as death. We called *Johán, Johán,* but received no answer: the surface of the river was calm, and a hat swam at a short distance. Johán had disappeared.

Our painful sensations were much aggravated by the unfeeling and inhuman conduct of the ferrymen, who were now in motion toward us, and to whom we related what had happened, and earnestly entreated their assistance. But neither entreaty, nor liberal offers of money, nor menaces, had any effect upon those hardened monsters; who, instead of hastening to our aid, remained in the middle of the river, alternately comforting us with this assurance, "The river is deep, take care of yourselves, or you will share the fate of the man," and scolding the coachman for disturbing them so late at night. When we became more importunate, they harshly and impudently replied, "Do you wish that we should meet the fate of your servant?—Return to-morrow morning, and you will find him when it is light:" as if it had been a matter of perfect indifference to us whether we should have a living being now, or a dead body on the morrow. All traces of our poor servant being lost, we could do nothing, but remained awhile on the spot, loth to believe that Johán

would rise no more! We returned at length with heavy hearts to the village, gave information of what had happened, and passed the short time till daylight, in the carriage, and in walking about; the night being fine, and all inclination to sleep having been banished by this unfortunate accident.

On the 20th of July, provided with people, we set off to the river about four o'clock in the morning, and soon found the body of Johán, a few feet from the place from which he fell, and where the water was about ten feet deep. The corpse was carried to an adjoining wood, and prayers were read over it according to the ritual of the Greek church.

To avoid all difficulty on returning to Moscow without our servant, we observed the regular forms necessary on such an occasion. A kind of coroner's inquest is held, but without any jury. The *Zasyedátel*, or fiscal, wrote to the nearest tribunal in the town of Slavenosérbsk, and having received an answer empowering him to do what was necessary, he went and examined the body, which we had afterwards put into a coffin. We then accompanied it to the grave in the village church-yard. With the *Zazyedátel* we left Johán's passport, and signed a report as to the accident. We also obtained from him a proper document, with his signature and the priest's, in which the result of the inquest was contained. This paper was to serve as a guarantee on the road, in case any of

the post-masters should enquire for Johán, as his name was entered in the *podorójnê*, and it was delivered to the police on our arrival at Moscow.

Jéltoyé Sélo is a cheerful village, surrounded by a fruitful country, which gradually became more interesting as we approached Starobélsk. Boundless tracts of corn-fields, intermixed with hemp and lint, extensive pastures covered by herds of cattle, numerous white-washed villages amid trees, upon an undulating surface of hill and dale, formed a pleasing and varied prospect. The river *Aidara*, which we frequently approached and receded from, added greatly to the beauty of the country; and a range of very white limestone hills, gave it a picturesque effect.

The district between Shulchinka and Starobélsk was so fine, rich, and variegated, and so studded with villages, as to remind us of some of the pleasing scenery of England. We were highly amused in one of the villages, by the peasants, who were dancing to the sound of the national *balaleĭka*, as is shown by the vignette of the present chapter.

Starobélsk, a small district town in the government of Voronéje, built upon the left bank of the Aidara, which flows into the Donets, is one of the neatest, of its size, I have seen in Russia. The streets are regular, wide, and clean; the houses are white-washed, and intermixed with trees; and a couple of churches lend their lively colours to the view.

We left Starobélsk on the morning of the 21st. The country between it and Belalútskaya becomes still more and more inviting; and immeasurable tracts of corn fields are intermixed with many villages and gentlemen's seats. Between the last-named station and Yeremén, more pasture land occurs. The limestone hills, already noticed, continued along our course to near Yeremén, where we crossed them and proceeded to Ostrogójsk, through a country with a continually varying surface of ascent and descent, and rich in corn, but by no means so charming as that part of our journey previously noticed.

Numerous churches give Ostrogójsk an imposing appearance at a distance, which disappoints the traveller on a nearer inspection. This town is built at the confluence of the Ostrogójsk, from which it derives its name, and the Sosna. It occupies an elevated situation, and is included in the government of Voronéje, and contains 11,000 souls. There are ten churches in it, of which two are reckoned cathedrals. Many of the houses are built of stone, but more of wood, and a few of the streets are laid out upon a regular plan. A number of merchants dwell here, who carry on a considerable commerce, especially in horned cattle from the Ukraine, horses, and tallow.

I had occasion to purchase a pair of boots at Ostrogójsk, and so great was the finesse of the

boot-makers, that I could have fancied myself in the *Bargaining Shops* at Moscow.

In another work I have entered at great length into the character of the Russian merchants, and their mode of trafficking*, and though the picture was drawn from the life, and the colours by no means overcharged, it has been hinted by some, that it is too general, and too severe. I feel convinced, however, of its being a fair representation, and that the accuracy of every sentence will be borne out by those who have been in Russia, and still more so by those who have had dealings with the native merchants. The character of dishonesty seems to have clung to this class of subjects at least for some hundred years, for even one of the best historians of Russia, Karamzin, frankly avows, "That in the times of the great dukes, the Moscow merchants knew and confirmed the proverb, that '*A merchant will sell his face:*'" and he adds, that, "Their *finesse* in buying and selling astonished the Germans, who said, 'Satan alone could cheat a Russian.'" †

In the work already referred to, I have explained the peculiar mode of buying and selling which is universally pursued throughout the empire of Russia; and I shall here add a few details in illustration, especially as they tend to throw light upon

* Character of the Russians, p. cxxxix. and p. 284.

† Sotchineniyá, or Works, vol. ix. p. 174.

the general system of corruption in the common affairs of life, which is gradually becoming prevalent even among the Krimean Tartars, the Caucasians, and the Georgians, and may have much influence in changing their national character.

The house-stewards, and the house-keepers, called, from the French, *econômes* and *econômkas*, have very desirable situations in Russia, especially in the houses of noblemen who live in good style, and, of course, where there are many purchases to make. Such situations are sometimes filled by the slaves of the nobles, but very often by free people: they are much sought after, and although they receive but a trifling salary, these stewards often succeed in making a competence for life, and some times a large fortune, in the course of a few years.

The Russian nobles, comparatively speaking, make but few bargains themselves: buying and selling, among the higher ranks, is looked upon as beneath their dignity; and yet it is in Russia, where we find at times the *highest titles associated with merchant*, in the same persons, or under another appellation which pleases them better, *speculators*.

No class of men in the world know their own country and their own interest better than the Russian merchants, and they take particular care to win and retain the good wishes of stewards, house-keepers, and servants. Suppose a number of merchants are brought into competition, the

goods of him who offers the most liberal premium are sure to be preferred by the purchasers, who soon become acquainted with those whom they call *liberal* men. Suppose a noble sends for two or three merchants, and desires them to bring such goods as he wishes; the messenger and merchants take care to have an explanation with each other should a purchase be made. Now, as the nobles very frequently are no judges themselves, either of the quality or the price of articles, they search out and examine those which please them, and leave the money arrangements to their inferiors. But even when they are judges, still the opinions of their attendants have wonderful influence over them. The reader will easily comprehend that the stewards recommend the wares of those who give them the largest reward, and disparage those of competitors, though of a superior quality: thus the servant's and the merchant's interest are intimately linked together, and the noble pays for the roguery of both. Indeed, it is not uncommon to go a step farther in deceit. The steward connives at less measure, or less weight, of goods than were bought, and even sometimes admits a mixture, or receives them of an inferior quality. There are so few exceptions to this detestable mode of traffic, that it may be said to be universal in Russia. The noble is basely defrauded every where; in his house and out of his house, by his servants and by the merchants, who enrich themselves at his expense.

For the purchase of meat, vegetables, and coarse articles, a steward very generally has a *kúptchik*, or buyer, under his orders, who pursues the same system of imposition as his superior.

Whoever is the purchaser, the same system is carried on with clothiers, hosiers, mercers, dealers in tea, sugar, rum, wine, furniture, &c.

The following anecdote is very characteristic :— A Russian noble asked me to recommend a merchant from whom good English porter could be purchased. I did so, and soon afterwards had an opportunity of informing the gentleman that I had spoken in his favour. He asked if the noble made such purchases himself, or employed a *dvorétskoi*, or house-steward, to do so. Upon my saying that beyond all question the *dvorétskoi* would be sent for the purpose, he begged me to prevent it; "for," said he, "as I make no presents to that rank of individuals, however *good* the porter purchased might be, it would not fail to turn out *bad* upon trial; and, in some way or other, I should be troubled or angered, and besides, very probably, have considerable difficulty in obtaining payment of my bill."

To such an extent does this mode of giving and receiving premiums extend, that the servant who carries a receipt to the apothecary's shop universally gets his reward; for if he did not, he would contrive, by some means or other, to carry the next prescription to another apothecary who, he knew,

would not forget him: respectable apothecaries are therefore necessitated to comply with a revolting custom, or they might shut their shops. As elsewhere, many of the noble families are in the custom of running quarterly, or half yearly, or annual accounts with the apothecaries; and when the bills are paid, the servants obtain a handsome present.

But this practice of presents also prevails among a higher class of individuals. Soon after my arrival in Russia, I had occasion to purchase a quantity of medicines. Sometime afterwards, when the bill was paid, I was rather surprised at receiving a handsome present from the apothecary. On mentioning the circumstance to a friend, my surprise ceased. The fact is, that it is well understood that all medical men, if they choose, receive ten, and sometimes even fifteen per cent. profit, upon medicines they purchase for public charities, or for private apothecary-shops upon the estates of the nobility in the interior; and five or ten per cent. upon the value of all medicines made up by their prescriptions throughout the empire. This is a manner of procedure at which a British physician is appalled on his first entrance into Russia, and even when he is assured it is the custom of the country, he cannot think of complying with it. There are few who have always resisted the receipt of what is considered fair gain; the practice having been, in fact, established as a law, which is known to all, and which universally prevails. For

a number of years, contrary to the advice of some friends, I refused the general premium, or rather, I bought the medicines ten per cent. lower than most medical men; and as I had occasion to make considerable purchases, I thus lost proportionate advantages; and what was worse, in the end, so far from being praised for my conduct by those whose interest I consulted, I was laughed at for my *pretensions* of having acted a better part than others; and insinuations were thrown out, that I made sure of my reward in some other way. I now laid aside my former scruples, and allowed the apothecaries to make me presents as they did to others; and I would advise all medical men to do so, or not to go to Russia.

It is an astonishing feature in the history of Russian bargaining, that notwithstanding that stewards receive a regular per centage, or premium, from the seller, they can still purchase goods at a cheaper rate than their masters or mistresses, who receive no discount. Thus a servant will buy the same cloth a rouble an arshin cheaper than his master, and, besides, will receive a premium. This mode of proceeding, no doubt, may sometimes be explained by a difference in the quality of the goods, or by a deficiency in their weight or quantity; but the basis of such a principle seems to be the determination of the merchants to encourage purchases by stewards and servants rather than by

their masters and mistresses, since thereby they invariably become greater gainers.

In all departments of commerce, and in all civil, military, and naval situations, half of the revenues are obtained either by roguery, or by the *receipt of presents*, which have become a legal reward from their general recognition; and, consequently, no infamy attaches to them.

At the distance of five versts from Ostrogójsk, and upon the banks of the Sósna, is a German colony, called the *Colony of Ostrogójsk*, which consists of 300 individuals, many of them tradesmen, but more engaged in rural occupations. The surrounding fields were covered with tobacco, potatoes, and corn, which attested the industry and the apparent opulence of the inhabitants. This colony consists of a long street, with a church in the middle, but had not the pleasing appearance we expected. Neither the cleanness of the streets, nor the neat thatched cottages, nor the appearance of general order, was here observed, which we had before remarked at some of the German colonies.

The general appearance of the country between Ostrogójsk and Voronéje is such as I have described before arriving at the former town: it is quite the granary of Russia, if one might judge by the profusion of corn. At a short distance from Voronéje the road becomes more level, and in wet weather is extremely bad. Near the town it is a complete marsh.

As we approached Voronéje on the morning of the 23d of July, we were much struck by its magnificent appearance, situated on the high banks of the river from which it derived its name, and a few versts from the place where it falls into the Don. In the spring, by the inundation of the river, two thirds of the town are surrounded by water, and it is then seen to greater advantage, rising alone amidst the waste of waters. In summer it is very unhealthy, from the quantity of marsh and swamp which extends some versts on two of its sides. It is one of the largest, finest, and most populous towns of the empire, and besides, lends its name to a government characterised for its fecundity, especially in corn. It therefore deserves a particular description.

Voronéje is reckoned one of the most ancient towns of Russia; but the epoch of its foundation is not known. It is spoken of, however, as already existing in the twelfth century. It is conjectured to have been built by the Khozares in consequence of a grant of lands by Vladímir Monomách: but, however this may be, it was dependent upon the principality of Russia. It is rather remarkable that it suffered little at the invasions of Batii Khan, and of Mamai Khan. In 1590, the Kozáks of the Ukraine threw themselves upon this town, burned it, and massacred the *Vòèvode*. It was afterwards pillaged by rebels under their chief, Zaroutskii. Being upon the frontier of the Nogay tribe, there

was carried on a commerce advantageous for Russia. It was in Voronéje that the Tartar and Turkish ambassadors were received who came to Russia, and to which they were conducted on their return. In 1676, the fortifications of this town were renewed. They were formed of oak wood, and supplied with cannon. But the importance of Voronéje dates from the time of Peter the Great, who resided there to superintend and direct the construction of ships. From hence a few vessels floated to the Don and the Sea of Azoph, which were of great use in the expedition against the town of the same name. The dock was afterwards removed to Ustia, at the confluence of the Voronéje and the Don, then to Tavrof, and lastly, to the fortress of Rostóf, at the embouchure of the Don. The palace in which the Tsar lived, the dock, the admiralty, and the magazines which were then constructed, were all burned during different great fires in the town. It is said that a brick magazine still remains upon an island, in which is preserved the model of a ship, of a particular construction, made by Peter the Great himself; but this curiosity we did not see.

At present Voronéje makes a very respectable appearance, and can boast of a population of nearly 20,000 souls. It contains some spacious streets, and a great many which are very mean: the suburbs are as black and gloomy as a country village. The principal street, the Dvorianskaya *Ulitsa*, has

a noble appearance, its sides being lined with massy and handsome edifices, many of them the property of the crown, as the governor's and vice-governor's houses; the tribunals; the post-office; the commissariat; the academy, &c. The Moskóvskaya *Ulitsa*, or street, is also very fine, and in it the archbishop's palace, with an adjoining cathedral, is situated. The columns of the cathedral are of such an extraordinary length as to render it impossible to reduce them to any order of architecture.

The shops, or bazárs, are likewise very respectable; and a great commerce is carried on here, with the ports of the Black Sea. Voronéje also contains some cloth manufactories, tanneries, and soap and tallow works.

As the gentleman with whom I was now travelling had left a servant at Moscow, we changed our plan of proceeding from Voronéje to Níjni-Nóvgorod, and determined to go directly to the ancient capital to find him, and from thence to proceed to join the rest of the party. Wishing to have our passports altered in consequence of the intended change of route, we called upon the Governor, and after one or two ineffectual attempts we succeeded in finding him at home. Our reception, at first, was far from flattering. We had no letters of introduction, and were therefore looked upon as troublesome intruders. To our enquiry, whether we had the honour of speaking to his Excellency the Governor of Voronéje, he replied in the most

haughty and repulsive manner; "*Eh bien, Messieurs, que voulez-vous?*" It was really amusing to observe the effect which the judicious introduction of a few great names amongst our Russian acquaintance, and the assumption of an air of more than usual importance, had upon him. He immediately became aware of his mistake; his repulsive manners vanished in an instant; he became affable, courteous, and even kind in his manner to us; we were ushered, with all due ceremony, into his best suite of rooms, and invited to dinner; an *amende honorable* which we were glad to accept, in order to form some idea of the society of a provincial town in Russia. It was thoroughly Russian society, and not of the first class. The Governor supported the Russian character for hospitality by frequent and pressing invitations to drink, and seemed surprised that, as Englishmen, we did not better maintain our national character of fondness for the bottle. In the evening we returned to receive our passports, which, as he had promised, were prepared for us. We drank tea with him; he overwhelmed us with attentions and professions; and, on parting, he presented my compañion with a small Russian table-cloth, which he had admired, as if determined to obliterate every recollection of our first reception.*

* We found the gentleman alluded to was only the governor *pro tempore*.

After dinner we made a visit to a very singular character, Mr. Barbarini, an Italian eunuch, who was 114 years of age, and who had been successively employed by Catharine II., the late Count Sheremétof, and other noblemen, in their orchestras, or as a singer, but who for a number of years past has been a kind of innkeeper *without a license;* a liberty allowed him in consequence of his great age. The vivacity, the gaiety, and the extraordinary manners of this old man exceedingly astonished us. One might have supposed himself in company with one of the most fashionable youths of the day. His mirth always terminated in loud fits of laughter. Although, apparently, he had one foot in the grave, he spoke much of going to Italy, and even of travelling over Europe.

In the government of Voronéje, as well as in the surrounding governments, the country is covered with corn fields, and, no doubt, it forms an almost inexhaustible granary for common purposes. But unfortunately there are so many distilleries in the south, that enormous quantities of grain are annually consumed by them, and in bad seasons, even these fruitful climes have been in want of bread. This is all owing to mismanagement, as the soil yields double and triple the quantity of grain necessary for the population. A few years ago two bad seasons succeeded each other, and corn became extremely scarce. That substantial article of Russian diet, *black bread*, got to an ex-

travagant price, and the peasants were badly off. In general, however, the peasantry of these fertile regions live well for their situation in life; and therefore it is altogether inconceivable how Dr. Clarke could have written the following heart-rending account, which assuredly is extravagant: — "Traversing the provinces south of Moscow," says he, "the land is as the garden of Eden; a fine soil, covered with corn, and apparently smiling in plenty. Enter the cottage of the poor labourer, surrounded by all these riches, and you find him dying of hunger, or pining from bad food, and in want of the common necessaries of life. Extensive pastures, covered with cattle, afford no milk to him. In autumn, the harvest yields no bread for his children. The lord claims all the produce."

In "*The Character of the Russians, &c.*" I have often animadverted upon the extravagant and prejudiced statements of Dr. Clarke, and have explained the reasons of his having seen but the gloomy shades of the picture. Now, even his supporters and friends seem conscious of his partial and overcoloured accounts, as is proved by the sentiments expressed in the examination of the sixth volume of his interesting Travels, in a very distinguished periodical publication, the Edinburgh Review, and by the following quotation from his biographer: — Speaking of the great and comparative interest which Dr. Clarke's works excited, this gentleman says, "From the singular situation

of that country (Russia), in the latter years of the Emperor Paul, with regard both to her internal and external policy, and the general exclusion of strangers from his dominions, every authentic account of that period was likely to be received with avidity; while, on the other hand, the probable influence of her power and councils upon the fate of Europe at the time of the publication *, rendered the character of her institutions and people, objects of the most lively and general interest. Thus was the public mind prepared for the work, and thus did the strong tone of feeling under which Dr. Clarke wrote, accord with the general excitement under which it was read; and when we consider farther, how strongly political prejudice is apt to warp the judgment of mankind, the same facts which will account for the rapid sale of the volume, will also explain the reason of the extravagant blame or praise which has attached to it. Looking back now with an impartial eye upon the work, and the nation it describes; considering the extraordinary susceptibility of the author's mind, and the expression he lets fall in one of his letters, that he should be glad to like the Russian people, if the government would let him, we may admit it to be probable, without impeaching the

* This alludes to the first volume of Dr. Clarke's Travels, relating to Russia.

veracity of a single statement, that the vexations he underwent, induced him, unawares, to linger more on the dark side of the picture, than upon the bright one; and that he might possibly have sat down to the composition of his work, under much of the same kind of feeling with which many others sat down to the reading of it. It should be remembered too, for the sake of all parties, that Dr. Clarke saw the Russian people at a moment when their natural good temper and vivacity were soured by the disgraceful situation of their country." *

We left Voronéje on the evening of the 23d of July, and after travelling many versts through a fertile country, without a single object which attracted notice, we were agreeably surprised by the appearance of Milenets, an estate and village of Mr. Mikoulin, between Khlébnoyé and Zadónsk. The mansion-house is very large, and of a square form, with four similar *façades*, and the surrounding grounds are laid out with taste. The situation is not the best, though it is pleasant and commanding. But what deserves most attention, is the village close to the house and along both sides of the great road. Almost all the huts of the peasants have been pulled down, and the rest are to follow. In their places there are already twenty

* The Life and Remains of the Rev. E. D. Clarke, p. 568. 1824.

houses of a single story in height, separated from each other by a court, and constructed altogether of stone, or of wood plastered over upon a stone foundation, and each with three windows. These, with a larger house for the steward, occupy one side of the road, and the same plan is most likely now completed on the other side, as half the houses were built when we were there; now above two years ago. Mr. Mikoulin has given an example of improvement to his countrymen, which I hope will prove successful in time; as, no doubt, his wish is to introduce a love of order, neatness, and comfort among the peasants; which, of course, will tend to civilise them. At present, nothing can appear more inconsistent than to see the uncouth figures of the Russians stalking about these dwellings, and it will be the work of many years before they be taught to make a proper use of them.

We soon reached Zadónsk, a small town remarkable for its neat appearance and pleasing environs. It is situated about half a verst from the Don. Its monastery is a conspicuous object, and is very fine. Its population amounts to about 2,000 souls, who are chiefly employed in agriculture, and a few in fishing upon the river.

We crossed the Don, a large and beautiful river, even so high up as Zadónsk; and we had an accommodation not often met with, an excellent ferry-boat.

The approach from the south to Yélets, gives every advantage to the appearance of that town. On account of its very high situation, it is seen at many versts' distance. Its numerous churches, and still more the many large stone houses white-washed and painted yellow, pink, and red, with their various-coloured roofs, rising on the side of a steep hill, in regular succession above each other, give it an air of magnificence which few Russian towns really possess. The mind is prepared, as on many other occasions, for disappointment, on entering the mean suburb, and crossing a dirty bridge over a broad but shallow river, the Sósna, along which the town stands. By a difficult ascent, we at length reached Yélets. Numerous large houses on every side might be placed in the capitals of the country. But though massy and gaudy, I never remarked so many deviations from all the rules of architecture, in a given space, as among the edifices of this town. Disproportionate pillars and pilasters, and an excess of frippery work and ornament, are almost universal defects. The streets are regular, have *trottoirs*, and being paved by large masses of limestone, are in good order in the middle of the town; but, at both exits, they have judged badly, who ordered the steep declivity of the hill to be paved in the same manner. We were glad to walk, in order to escape the fate which seemed to threaten those who venture to remain in their carriages, should the drag

give way, or the horses take fright, in such a situation.

From its local position, Yélets is remarkably airy and healthy. The environs are beautiful, and extremely fertile, and provisions, consequently, very cheap. It is one of the most delightful small towns I have seen in Russia. Its inhabitants amount to about 8,000 souls, who carry on a considerable commerce, especially in corn.

From Yélets to Yephémof, the country was similar to what we had passed, very fertile.

Yephrémof, like Yélets, is situated on a high hill, but in no other respect is to be compared, being a mean wooden town, of considerable size, and containing but 3,000 inhabitants.

Between Yephrémof and Túla, the country in general may be said to be rich and beautiful, and considerably varied in its surface, as the frequent calls for the drag sufficiently informed us. Woods, corn fields, pastures, with an occasional gentleman's seat, compose the scenery.

Boghoróditsk is called a town, and lies at the junction of two small rivulets, the *Lesnŏi Uperte*, and the *Viasovka*. Its population amounts to nearly 3,000 souls. It rather deserves the title of a mean village, which is singularly contrasted with the magnificent palace of Countess Bobrínska; a specimen of the wealth her husband derived from his relationship to the Empress Catherine II., whose natural son he was reported to be by Orlof.

The country between Boghoróditsk and Túla, as the harvest was general, presented the most pleasing aspect, and the prospect of abundance. This is the season when it is most attractive, and it was much more fertile than we expected. We reached Túla late in the evening of the 25th of July, and supped at the inn at which we had lodged in our journey to the south. This inn is singularly well arranged. The waiters were attentive, active, well-dressed, and very clean. The table-linen, plates, knives and forks, were in the best order, and an excellent supper was served up at three roubles a-head. The wines were also good. This was a luxurious feast, to which we had of late been little accustomed, and which is seldom to be met with in the largest towns in the south of the Russian empire.

We retraced our way to Sérpuchof in the night, and breakfasted there, but could not procure post-horses. To prevent detention, we hired horses at an extravagant rate to Moscow. The road to Lapásna was extremely bad, and the horses much fatigued; but as by *contract* they were changed there, we hoped to get on more rapidly. By the time we reached Podólsk, however, the new horses were exhausted, and our post-boors now proposed, contrary to our agreement, that we should stop for three hours whilst they fed them. Finding other horses at hand, we hired them, and wished to get rid of the former engagement, which the boors

could not fulfil, by paying them the proportion of the sum which they had earned. But to this they objected, and demanded full payment to Moscow. Finding them impertinent and stubborn, we at length agreed to give them the sum on their arrival at Moscow with their horses, but even this would not please them. When we were about to start, one of the post-boors seized the reins, and to end the matter, we drove to the *Gorodnítchii*, to whom we related the affair. We were well treated, and the coachman received a few blows, and orders to go to Moscow with his horses, or be content to give up the money. We got to the capital at midnight; and on the following day he came there and received his due.

We spent the 27th and 28th of July at Moscow, in making arrangements, and on the evening of the latter day we set off to Nijni-Nóvgorod. We travelled all night, and early in the morning we breakfasted at Boghoródsk, a small district town in the government of Moscow, which lies upon the right bank of the Kliasma, contains about 500 inhabitants, and is chiefly built of wood, with a few stone houses. The road, which is bad even in good weather, was now almost impassable, as it had rained in the night. We therefore travelled slowly, and every plan was laid by the *smotrítel* to detain us here. At length he consented to give us three horses, and we hired three others, and went on. After proceeding nine versts, we reached

the Kliasma, which we crossed by an extremely bad ferry; the floating bridge established here having been carried away in consequence of a late flood of the river by heavy rains. We entered the village Búnkova, and, as we had learned that a number of travellers had preceded us, and that horses were kept for others who were expected, we here hired private horses to Vladímir. The weather was bad, and the road heavy, and little occurred worth mentioning.

Pokróf is a small town, which contains about 500 souls, and, like Boghoródsk, is built of wood and stone. Its vicinity is occupied by woods, forests, and marshes, and is very barren.

Early in the morning of the 30th of July, we reached the post station of Vladímir, which is two versts from the town, where we breakfasted and changed horses.

The weather being bad, we found the road extremely heavy, — through clay and sand, and over wood, — like the Petersburgh road, which it much resembles. Till within two stations of Vladímir, it is generally level, and bounded by fir woods, and sometimes by corn fields between it and these woods. Near Vladímir it is more open, and is diversified by hill and dale, woods, corn fields, and pastures.

Vladímir, as is well known, was once the capital of Russia, and a city of great importance. It occupies a high and picturesque situation upon the banks of the Kliasma, and the

rivulet Libed runs through it. If we can give credit to the tradition, that before Vladímir was burned by the Tartars, the city extended to the convent of Bogholyúbskii, from which it is now distant eleven versts, it must have been a place of enormous magnitude, but probably not of correspondent population, according to our ideas; because the Asiatic manner of erecting wooden houses surrounded by courts and gardens, caused them to occupy an immense space, as is still the case in many of the Russian towns, and even in many of the suburbs of Moscow. Some of the historians of Russia pretend that this town was built in the tenth century by Vladímir the Great when he went to Súzdal, Rostóf, and Nóvgorod, to propagate the Christian religion. Others maintain, with more probability, that it owes its origin to Yúri Vladímirovitch, surnamed Dolgorúkii, and fix it in the twelfth century, when it belonged to the principality of Rostóf. Prince Andréi Bogholyúbskii, son of Dolgorúkii, having received in appanage the principalities of Súzdal, as well as the town of Vladímir, embellished the latter, and surrounded it with a wall. On the death of his father in 1157, he transferred his residence to it, and it became the seat of the grand-duchy. It remained the metropolis and residence during 170 years, i. e. till the Grand Duke Iván Danílovitch Kalíta transferred the seat of government to Moscow in 1328.

Since that epoch Vladímir has always been united to the Grand Duchy of Moscow.

In 1257, the Tartar Khan took Vladímir by assault, burned it, and caused the inhabitants to be massacred during the absence of the Grand Duke George Vsévolodovitch, who was raising an army in the principality of Rostóf. This unfortunate prince, having learned at the same time of the destruction of his capital and of the massacre of his wife and sons, shut himself up in the cathedral with the Archbishop Mitrophanes and his younger children. The Tartars having filled it with wood, set fire to it, when all perished. We have little cause to be surprised that the Russians, with such instances before them, should long have considered the Tartars as ferocious barbarians, and were kept in alarm by their inroads in different parts of their territories. Vladímir was again ravaged by them in 1410, since which time, though never large, it has always been a place of consequence, and has long been the chief town of the government of the same name.

Vladímir is surrounded by a ditch and earthen rampart, and like almost all the ancient towns of Russia of considerable size, is divided into the Kremle, the Kitai-Górod, and the Belŏi-Górod. It contains one principal and long street, which is wide, and the houses, of wood and stone intermixed, are excellent and built in good style. The cross streets are, for the most part, mean in their

appearance. The market-place, it being Sunday, was extremely crowded as we passed through it.

The palace of the archbishop, which was formerly a convent, and in which was preserved the body of St. Alexander Névskii before it was carried to Petersburgh, is regarded with no common sensations, especially by the populace. It is now a seminary for the education of the clergy. There are also a nunnery, a gymnasium, the edifice for the tribunals, the governor's house, &c. which are built of brick, besides a number of houses, and the wooden town hospital, which attract attention.

The principal structure in Vladímir, however, is the cathedral of the Assumption, which was once magnificent. It is a square edifice, and, like the cathedrals of Moscow, is surmounted by five domes. At each corner its walls are strengthened by projecting buttresses, which have a very clumsy appearance, and a most disagreeable effect. Its interior is richly ornamented; but its ancient splendour is no more.* We were much struck by its beautiful and commanding situation, and its appearance is now much enlivened by a sort of terrace or *boulevard*, which stretches to the brow of the hill on which it stands. Vladímir contains about a dozen other churches.

Vladímir is not reckoned a wealthy town, though

* Vide, Essay on Architecture in Russia, in "Character of the Russians, &c." p. 596.

the seat of the archbishop of Vladímir and Súzdal. Its vicinity to Moscow, and its distance from any of the great navigable rivers, always oppose obstacles to its prosperity. The number of its inhabitants may be estimated at 4000 or 5000 souls. They are occupied for the most part as merchants, in the manufacture of linen, leather, &c., and have extensive gardens, in which an immense quantity of cherries are annually produced, and supply not only the town, but also the vicinity, and even Moscow. They have four different kinds which are reckoned superior. The stranger is struck in summer with the singular appearance of these gardens, especially by the banks of the Kliasma. Numerous small watch-towers, some of them not unlike the *Víshkas* of the Tchernomôrskii Kozáks, rise amid the trees, between which cords stretch in every direction. Boys and girls, and even men and women, are seen at work in these dwellings, but their principal occupation is to pull the cords the moment a bird alights upon a tree, so as to frighten it away. Labour does not cost much here, and the quantity of cherries produced brings a considerable annual revenue. Vladímir being on the principal road by which the merchants go to the fairs of Nízni-Nóvgorod and Irbít, as well as on the grand line of communication between Russia and Siberia, it often presents a busy scene, especially in summer.

On quitting Vladímir we descended a very steep

hill, and were obliged to employ the drag. We then crossed the Kliasma, by no means a contemptible river, over an excellent floating bridge. Travelling through a country similar to what has been mentioned, but still more open and undulating, we reached Múrom on the morning of the 31st of July. From Vladímir to Múrom, the only object worthy of remark is the town of Súdogda, as it is called, but which, as well as many of the other district towns of Russia, is more like a village. A person who looks over the list of towns in the annual almanacks might suppose that this empire is infinitely more populous than it is in reality. This said district-town of Súdogda, contains only 250 inhabitants of both sexes. Its solitary ornament is a church, which was built at the expense of the Empress Catherine.

Múrom is a larger town than Vladímir, and occupies a very fine situation upon a hill near the Oka. It is remarked that this river annually retires farther from its elevated bank, and of course from the town; and old persons assert, that houses, which, in 1768, were near the river, are now at a considerable distance from it.

The origin of Múrom is involved in obscurity, but is supposed to be very remote. Towards the end of the tenth century, this place is spoken of in the Russian chronicles. When Vladímir the Great divided his estates among his children, he gave Múrom to his son Gleb, who established him-

self there with his family, augmented, peopled, and fortified the town, but could not succeed in converting the inhabitants to Christianity. This was accomplished a long time afterwards by Prince Constantine Sviatoslávitch, who caused the first church to be built here. Afterwards Múrom became an appanage of the cadets of the princes of Kiëf, then of those of Vladímir, and of Rostóf. It was a frontier town on the side of the Bulgarian tribes, and, in consequence, has often suffered by their incursions. In 1030 it was taken, and entirely ruined by them; and it also suffered much by the invasions of the Tartars. It was only after the foundation of Níjni-Nóvgorod that it came to enjoy tranquillity, but it never recovered its wonted prosperity under its princes, although long a large and active town.

Múrom is divided into three quarters, the Kremle, the Torgóvaya, and the Predméstiyé, or suburbs. The Kremle is separated by an earthen rampart from the other divisions. The *Torgóvaya* is so called because it contains the shops or bazárs. The cathedral was erected in the sixteenth century, and stands in the Kremle. The town contains no less than seventeen other churches, of which a few are still of wood, besides two monasteries and a nunnery.* The population does

* Capt. Cochrane says Múrom bears the name of a city, but "is undeserving of that of village, being a vast assemblage of

not exceed 5000 souls. There are numerous fabrics of linen and leather, which they carry to Petersburgh. They also traffic in corn by means of the Oka. A great annual market is held at Múrom in June, which continues twelve days.

About twenty-five versts below this town, and on the eastern bank of the Oka, there are a number of rich iron mines, by which great fortunes have been made. Bátashof, who possessed one of the finest palaces in Moscow, had a number of foundries in this neighbourhood, which, after his death, a few years ago, fell to his grand-children, and are now under the management of their father, General Shépelof. These fabrics have of late been greatly improved, in consequence of the engagement of some Englishmen, Mr. Snow, Mr. Clarke, &c. An immense quantity of their articles are annually transported by the Oka to Níjni-Nóvgorod, and sold during the great fair, which is soon to be noticed.

The following account is extremely interesting; and, as it is contained in a work which is not pe-

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unsociable huts, with six or seven churches." (Vide Narrative of a Pedestrian Journey, &c. p. 30.) This statement is very inaccurate. It is true, that most of the houses at Múrom have but a mean appearance, but they are intermixed with stone buildings, and, as mentioned above, with numerous churches. In fact, Múrom is a very respectable district-town, and few of the same rank can be compared with it.

rused by the general reader, I shall not hesitate to make use of it.

Vixa, with its dependencies, forms one of the most extensive iron-works in Russia, and is situated in the forest of Múrom. This forest is a tract of more than fifty versts in length, which stretches along the right bank of the Oka, above that town. At the depth of sixty feet below the surface of the earth, are found a series of beds of iron-stone of variable quality. The mines, if they may be so called, are in several parts of the forest; the principal about two or three versts from the ferry over the Oka, on the road from Vixa to Múrom. Here the whole surface of the ground appears as if covered by large mole-hills; they are heaps with which the old pits are covered up. The present system of working is to sink a shaft, as if for a well, till it meets the bed of ore, and to raise what lies within the circumference, and perhaps a little more, all round, and then to close the shaft and sink another as near to the old one as convenient. In this manner the whole ground is perforated with small holes as near together as they can be placed: no gallery is driven, and all the ore is got out by a shaft immediately above the spot where it lies. The reason given for this apparently expensive mode of working is, that the ore lying so near the surface, it is little more expensive to arrive at it through a soft bed of sand, in which it is easy to sink shafts, than to drive galleries, for

which much timber and machinery might be necessary, since the sand, from its loose texture, would require a vast structure below to support it: yet there is a superabundance of timber in the immediate neighbourhood. But the fact is, that most probably the experiment of driving galleries was never made, although they would lead to the saving of an immense deal of labour; and, in the middle of a forest in the government of Vladímir, wood costs but a trifle. The mines have been so profitable, as they are worked, that the proprietors have been less anxious for improvements. About fifty years since, the late owner, Bátashof, who, with his brother, had been engaged in the iron-works at Túla, and who possessed a certain knowledge of this part of the country, imagined that the iron-stone of the government of Túla was likely to extend into the forest of Múrom. He followed, therefore, the course of the Oka, and, finding pieces of iron ore on the banks of the river, was induced to try whether it existed *in situ* in the neighbourhood. He actually found that its strata were at an inconsiderable depth below the surface on the right bank. This discovery was made in the forest of Múrom, then almost uninhabited, except by banditti, who were then in force sufficient to oblige him to take an escort of Kozáks in the researches which he made for ore. Being satisfied of the quality of what he found, he bought, at an extremely low rate, a vast extent of the forest, then

crown-land; and he now possesses, in the midst of the barren wilderness,—besides a large country-house with English and Italian gardens, a theatre, a bazár, and a market,—eleven separate iron-works, at from four to twenty versts' distance, handsome churches, villages, and 30,000 inhabitants, as his share in the adventure. *

At Múrom we paid for five horses, though our *podorójné* only obliged us to pay for four. We were astonished, therefore, to see eight put to the carriage, and that three post-boors accompanied us, the coachman, the postilion, and one who sat behind, and who made pretensions that he was only going to the ferry of the Oka. After advancing about a verst, four of the horses were taken out of the carriage, and the drag was used, on account of a rapid and long descent to the banks of the Oka, which is here a beautiful and magnificent river, nearly a verst in breadth. The carriage was placed upon a great plank floor, which was fixed upon two boats, and we reached the opposite side. The deep sands through which we had now to make our way formed but too sure a prelude of the kind of road we were to expect for thirty-one versts, the length of this station. Now that we had crossed the water, the coachman began to make new terms, and wished to be paid for

* Vide An Outline of the Geology of Russia, by the Hon. W. T. H. F. Strangways, in the Transactions of the Geological Society, Second Series, vol. i. part first, 1822.

six horses. By this time we discovered that the three post-boors had arrived at Múrom, from Monakóvo, to which they must return, and that they had given one of their horses (for each had a *troïka*, or three horses) for a colonel's carriage, to suit their own convenience; and while they were all to be carried with us, wished to make a "good bargain." After much squabbling and delay, the horses were again put to, and we proceeded by a heavy road. Even with eight horses our progress was extremely slow. Neither promises of liberal drink-money, nor entreaties, nor menaces, influenced the driver to quicken his pace, which did not exceed the rate of three and a half and four miles in the hour. The road was heavy, but it also appeared that these men were determined to annoy us. On showing greater anxiety to get on, the heaviness of the carriage was urged as an excuse. We therefore obliged the third man, who sat behind it, and who added to the weight, to dismount. He persisted in regaining his place, and we were at length compelled to force him off. The coachman now refused to go without him, and jumped from the dickey. As the postilion sat still, our servant took the coachman's place. Leaving the coachman and the third post-boor on the road, seven versts distant from the station, we drove on, not thinking sufficiently of what might have been the consequence. When within a short distance from Monakóvo, which stands near the top of a hill, all

at once, from walking, the postilion merrily put the horses upon the trot. The moment we remarked that we were upon a declivity, we called out to him to stop, but it was in vain. We got into a gallop, and passed the post-house at full speed, and only were able to stop at the ascent of the adjoining hill.

At the post-house they assured us there were no horses, and a German colonel and an Englishman, who were travelling together, had been detained three hours, although they had examined the register-books, and found that all the horses were not absent. As we expected, on reflection, we could do nothing till our coachman should make his appearance, and had he chosen to have concealed himself for a day, two days, or longer, we could not have proceeded. This, luckily, was not the case, and in a couple of hours he arrived. We had taken care to arrange the business by the usual expedient of a bribe, so as not to be detained by the coachman, and to procure horses. There were no less than twenty horses in the stable, and the gentlemen of whom I have spoken, had been detained merely because they would not sufficiently bribe the *smotrítel*. Our horses being ready harnessed, we were begged to wait till their carriage was despatched in the opposite direction, that the roguery might not be detected. Had we refused compliance, plans would have been resorted to which would have caused great annoyance; therefore,

while we felt indignant at injustice, we were glad to be silent.

The road from Múrom to Monakóvo, is for the most part flat, and abounds in woods; towards Monakóvo it became hilly. From hence to Níjni-Nóvgorod, the face of the country is very pleasing, generally open near the road, and with woods in the distance, every where undulating, and often presenting extensive views and great tracts of corn fields and pastures. Forty versts from Níjni-Nóvgorod, at the junction of another road, which also conducts to that town, stands the villa of Count Sheremétof, a large and lordly establishment, but in great disorder, called Boghoródskoyé. This villa is the more remarkable, because but few residences of the nobility meet the eye on the line of road from Moscow to Níjni-Nóvgorod. The adjoining village contains many peasants.

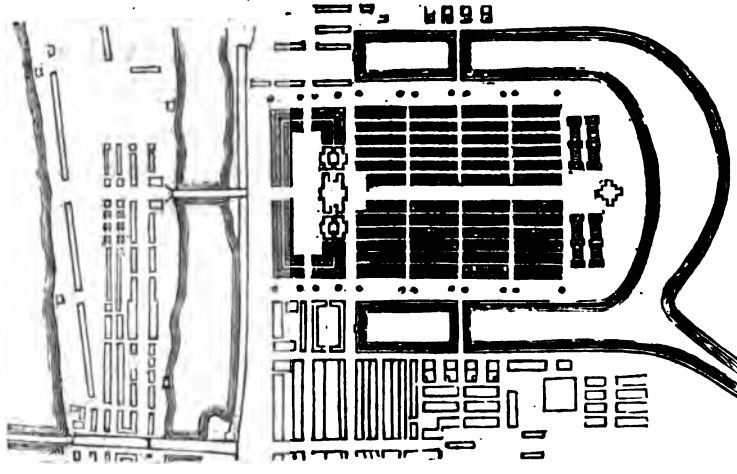
On the morning of the 1st August, according to appointment, we joined our companions, who arrived at Níjni-Nóvgorod three days before us, and took up our residence in a remarkably pleasant house, in the elevated part of the town, which commands a beautiful view of the confluence of the two great rivers, the Oka and the Vólga.

The Vólga *, one of the most celebrated rivers in Europe, takes its rise in the government of Tver; and, after a course of above 4000 versts through

* Karamzin has written a poem called "The Vólga."

the governments of Yarosláf, Kostróm, Níjni-Nóvgorod, Kazán, Simbírsk, Sarátof, and Astrachán, disembogues itself into the Caspian Sea by seventy branches, amid a multitude of islands. By numerous rivers which fall into it, it is connected with a great part of the Russian empire; hence its immense importance for communication and commercial purposes. In its whole course it has no cataracts nor dangerous passages, but its depth slowly and gradually diminishes. It is one of the richest rivers known for fish, and especially those of great size.

The Oka rises in the government of Orel, and then flows through the governments of Kalúga, Moscow, Túla, Riasán, Tambóf, and Vladímir; among the richest in the empire. In its course it receives the Ugra, the Moskva, the Kliasma, and the Oussa, &c. &c. It is also well stocked with fish. Being navigable almost from its source, it is of the greatest utility for commerce.



CHAP. XXII.

HISTORY OF NÍJNI-NÓVGOROD. — ITS FINE SITUATION. — WELL ADAPTED FOR COMMERCE. — MIGHT BE THE CAPITAL OF RUSSIA. — ITS DIVISIONS. — CATHEDRALS. — CHURCHES. — POPULATION. — BAZÁRS AT MAKÁRIÈF BURNED. — PLAN OF GENERAL BETANCOURT. — OBJECTIONS TO IT. — UNAVOIDABLE DIFFICULTIES. — NEW BAZÁRS AT NÍJNI-NÓVGOROD. — DISMISSAL OF GENERAL BETANCOURT. — DESCRIPTION OF THE BAZÁRS. — MERCHANDISE AT THEM IN 1821 AND 1823. — MERCHANDISE AT MAKÁRIÈF IN 1813. — AMUSEMENTS AT NÍJNI-NÓVGOROD. — ANECDOTE. — LODGINGS. — INNS. — STEAM-BOATS. — DEPARTURE IN COMPANY WITH RUSSIAN MERCHANTS. — GORÓCHOVETS. — VIASNIKI. — VLADÍMIR. — PEKRA. — GÓRENKI BOTANIC GARDENS. — THEIR DIRECTOR, DR. FISCHER. — COUNT RASUMÓVSKII. — GÓRENKI GOING TO RUIN. — NEW BOTANIC GARDEN

AT PETERSBURGH.—THE LATE COUNT A. K. RASUMÓVSKII'S AFFAIRS EMBARRASSED.—RUSSIAN NOBLES NOTORIOUS FOR GETTING INTO DEBT.—ANECDOTE. — ILLUSTRATION. — CHARACTER OF THE RUSSIANS. — ARRIVAL AT MOSCOW. — NEW FACTS RESPECTING IT. — THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER DISPLEASED WITH THE AUTHOR. — CHARACTER OF COLONEL BOUTOURLIN'S WORK. — RUSSIAN ARMY'S RETREAT TO FILI IN 1812.—COUNCIL OF WAR.—THE RUSSIAN AND THE FRENCH ARMIES. — DECISION OF PRINCE KUTÚSOF. — RUSSIAN ARMY RETREATS THROUGH MOSCOW TO THE KOLÓMNA ROAD. — ENTRY OF THE FRENCH INTO MOSCOW.—THE QUESTION, WHO BURNT MOSCOW? — THE RUSSIANS THEMSELVES THE INCENDIARIES. — CAUSE OF THEIR DENIAL OF THIS DEED.—THEIR AVOWAL OF IT NOW. — EXTRAORDINARY CONDUCT OF COUNT ROSTOPCHÍN. — MOSCOW BURNED *PAR QUELQUE PERSONNAGE À GRAND CARACTÈRE*. — CONDUCT OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER, AND OF RUSSIAN AUTHORS. — A MYSTERY. — THE EMPEROR OR KUTÚSOF THE GRAND INCENDIARY OF MOSCOW. —EFFECT OF THE CONFLAGRATION. — RETREAT OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY. — IMPOLITIC CONDUCT. — THE RUIN OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

NÍJNI-NÓVGOROD is the capital of the government of the same name. It is often called Níje-Górod; and, frequently, for convenience, simply Nízni, — Górod being understood. The word *Nízni* means inferior, and was added so as to distinguish this town from Nóvgorod, sometimes called *Veliki*, or *Great* Nóvgorod, of which I shall soon have occasion to speak.

As Nízni-Górod has long been one of the chief towns in Russia, and has of late years acquired an extraordinary degree of importance in consequence

of the translation to it of the celebrated fair, which was formerly held at Makáriéf, it deserves a very particular description.

According to some, Níjni-Nóvgorod was founded in 1222; and to others, in 1227, by George Vsévolodovitch III. For a long time it was the residence of the princes of Súzdal and of Níjni-Nóvgorod. In 1227 George Vsévolodovitch chased the Morduaňs from its environs, after having ruined their establishments, and gave possession of it to Russian colonies. In 1303 these barbarians returned to its neighbourhood, and waged war, but luckily they were discomfited. After various successful irruptions of the Tartars, Prince Dmítrii Konstantínovitch, no longer hoping to be able to defend himself, retired to his third son at Súzdal. Níjni-Nóvgorod was then abandoned by most of the inhabitants, who ascended the Oka toward Goródets and Múrom. The few who remäined in it were massacred by the Tartars; they also pillaged and burnt the town and the neighbouring villages, and carried many of the women into captivity. After this period it was frequently invaded and ruined by the same enemies. It also suffered by famine, and was reduced to nothing by frequent fires.

Níjni-Nóvgorod is famous as the birthplace of the butcher Minin, by whose patriotic conduct, and that of the brave Pojárskii, Russia was saved

when about to fall a prey to her enemies in the beginning of the 17th century. To their memory the Emperor Alexander has erected a fine monument at Moscow*, which the inhabitants of Níjni-Nóvgorod think ought to have been placed in this town,; but assuredly the birthplace of Pojárskii might claim the same distinction. Under every point of view, I am of opinion that a better site could not have been chosen than that on which it stands.

The geographical position of Níjni-Nóvgorod is under 44° 18′ E. long. and 56° 16′ N. lat.; at the distance of 1120 versts from Petersburgh, and 390 from Moscow. The situation of this town is very striking and picturesque. It occupies a triangular elevation, almost deserving the appellation of promontory, at the confluence of the Vólga and the Oka. The hill is extremely steep, rising almost from the water's edge. Its summit, which is included by the Kremle, is above 400 feet above the usual level of these rivers. This high ground is intersected by numerous deep ravines, even in the middle of the town. From the summit of the hill may sometimes be seen a phenomenon, similar to what has been observed in some other places. After their junction, the blue waters of the Vólga are seen to flow uniformly along the left side of the

* Vide Character of the Russians, p. 296. and the accompanying representation of the Monument.

channel; while those of the Oka, which are often muddy, as regularly keep along the right. From their point of union, the difference of colour is too striking to be overlooked by the most casual observer; and it is nearly as distinct as far as the eye can reach. The Hon. Mr. Strangway thinks the explanation of this fact very simple. "The Vólga above Nĭjni-Nóvgorod," says he, "as well as the greater part of its tributary streams, flows through a tract of country almost universally covered with sand; the Oka, on the contrary, flows through a country of rich red marl, in its strongest and most argillaceous form: neither of the two rivers being sufficiently rapid to disturb immediately the new body of water with which it comes in contact, the effect above described is naturally produced."

The situation of Nĭjni-Nóvgorod, at the confluence of the two principal rivers of central Russia, which thus connect the two richest and most populous districts of the empire—the provinces immediately south of Moscow, and those on the Upper Vólga — is singularly adapted for commerce, independently of its more distant connections. Here, naturally, centers not only the greatest internal trade of the empire; but, by different lines of navigation, Nĭjni-Nóvgorod has a three-fold communication with the provinces of the north, and with the Baltic; and by means of the Oka and the Moskvá, with Moscow itself. The Kámą,

which meets the Vólga beyond Kazán, brings all the produce of Siberia, the iron and copper of the Urál mountains, the gold and silver of Kolyván, and the beryls, amethysts, and topazes of Nertchínsk. The trade with China is also carried on by means of this river. The merchandise of central Asia, as well as that of the south of Russia and Persia, comes partly from Astrachán and other places in the Caspian Sea, by the navigation of the Lower Vólga, and partly by caravans, which arrive on the banks of that river in different parts of its course. European commodities are chiefly furnished from Moscow, Petersburgh, and Odéssa. The great commercial advantages of Níjni-Nóvgorod, together with its situation in the centre of one of the most fertile districts in Russia, — in most of which particulars it has a great superiority both over Petersburgh and Moscow, — are believed to have inspired Peter the Great with the idea of making it the capital of the Russian empire.* James affirms, it is beyond a doubt, that it was not the original intention of Peter the Great to have erected his new capital at Petersburgh; and that a plan is preserved in the imperial archives, which details a scheme for building a great city at Níjni-Nóvgorod, and there fixing the imperial residence. "Seated at the conflux of the Vólga and

* Transact. of the Geolog. Society, Second Series, vol. i. p. 24. Vide also pp. 16—19.

the Oka, in a country the most fertile, and in a central point that would have united the seat of supreme power with the natural focus of commercial circulation, it would have possessed numerous advantages that Petersburgh can never attain; neither was it to be disregarded, that its locality would have enabled the government, at all times, to check and overcome, with little effort, the several more remote parts of the empire." Indeed its geographical position in the centre of the empire, at the conflux of two great rivers, as well as its fine situation, surrounded by a fertile country, rendered it worthy of being the capital of Russia; and it is ever to be regretted, that the plan of Peter the Great had not been carried into execution.

Níjni-Nóvgorod may be divided into the *high* part and the *low* part. The former contains several good streets; in the principal one of which stand the houses of the civil governor, and of many resident nobles. It also includes the ancient fortress, called the Kremle, which is partly situated on the summit, and partly on the declivity of a hill. The Kremle was surrounded by strong walls and towers in the year 1508. From its ramparts may be enjoyed beautiful views of the Vólga, the Oka, and the neighbouring country. It contains two cathedrals. In that dedicated to the Transfiguration, repose the remains of the famous Minin. The other cathedral is dedicated to St. Michail.

Both edifices are built after the model of the cathedrals at Moscow. In the Kremle also stands an immense structure for the tribunals, but it was lately burned, and is now in a ruinous condition.

The inconvenience of communication between the high and the low parts of Níjni-Nóvgorod, is excessive. The grand street by which the post enters this town being *paved*, or rather *floored* with wood which is usually very slippery, and the bad footing for the horses, added to the steepness of the descent, make it very dangerous even for an empty carriage. The road of communication through the Kremle is difficult, but infinitely less so, than that just alluded to. The *low* part of the town is chiefly formed by a very long street, which runs along the course of the Vólga, and which is very dirty in wet weather. A new edifice, like a bazár, which had not been opened, numerous good houses along both its sides, a fountain near its west extremity, and the house of General Betancourt, are its chief ornaments. This last building is opposite an elegant bridge, across the Oka, which is erected upon thirty pontoons, and which, with a continuation over an inlet of that river, is more than a verst in length.

At Níjni-Nóvgorod, there are three convents and twenty-six churches, which give it a fine appearance; many of them being in very conspicuous situations, and adorned with gilded domes. This town is the residence of an archbishop, and

contains a public seminary and school. Its shops and magazines are generally well stored, and especially with grain. It also possesses a number of distilleries, breweries, tanneries, soap-works, &c.

Fifteen years ago, the resident population of Níjni-Nóvgorod amounted to 10,000 souls, of whom nearly 1000 were merchants, and above 1000 burghers. The number of houses in the whole town, was then 1826, of which only twenty-five were built of stone. Some thousand barges annually passed by the rivers already mentioned; and, during the active season, the population was augmented to 60,000 or 70,000. The number of fixed residents now amounts to 20,000 or 25,000 souls. The great annual fair now held at Níjni-Nóvgorod has given a strong impulse to population, which has been doubled within the last few years. It was said, that during the fair, it was sometimes as high as 140,000 or even 150,000; but this statement seems somewhat extravagant, and probably includes the whole number of persons who were present during the course of the fair, which lasts about two months, but who were not there at the same period of time.

On his advance to Siberia, Captain Cochrane reports, that the inhabitants of Níjni-Nóvgorod amounted to 15,000 or 16,000; though its visitors, during the fair, probably made its population, at that time, from 120,000 to 150,000. On his return, however, about two years afterwards, *i. e.* in

1823, he states the resident population at 30,000. * Let us now turn our attention to the history of the fair at Níjni-Nóvgorod, which long ago had its origin at Makáriëf; a town whose name is derived from an adjoining monastery, which was built in the fourteenth century.

Makáriëf lies upon the right bank of the Vólga, near the place where the river Kurgenets falls into it, and at the distance of eighty-four versts from Níjni-Nóvgorod. It was called a district town, though it only contained 260 male inhabitants, and a single church. The great annual fair of Makáriëf was held near the convent just mentioned. It was well known over Europe and Asia, and generally lasted six weeks or two months. In 1817, the town and bazárs of Makáriëf were burned, some say by accident, but others entertain suspicions that it was done on purpose to have a pretence for removing its fair to Níjni-Nóvgorod. This step met with great opposition, as was natural, especially from those who would be losers by the change. After it was definitively resolved that the fair should be no longer held at Makáriëf, Níjni-Nóvgorod, Kazán, Boghoródskoyé Sélo near the mouth of the Káma, and Simbírsk, were all represented as eligible situations for its re-establishment. General Betancourt, by birth a Spaniard, who has distinguished himself as a civil

* Cochrane's Narrative, p. 83.

engineer, and by his mechanical genius, especially in the erection of the very extraordinary edifice at Moscow, called the *Exercise-House* *, was employed to examine the whole business, and to make a report to His Imperial Majesty. After canvassing all the objections *pro* and *con* the different proposed situations, Níjni-Nóvgorod got the preference; and, I believe, with good reason. At the same time it must be allowed, that formidable objections, and of a nature which could not strike the cursory observer, even here opposed the erection of bazárs for a vast market. The plain which is now occupied by the magnificent bazárs on the left bank of the Oka, and opposite Níjni-Nóvgorod, being purely alluvial, or, in other words, a sort of Delta formed by the Oka, is subject to regular floods from the waters of both rivers. It happens, rather unfortunately, that the Vólga, and its affluents coming from the north, while the Oka flows directly from the south, the difference of climate between the tracts of country that are

* The Exercise-House is one of the most extraordinary edifices in the universe; and is unique for its magnitude upon the same principles. It is 560 feet in length, 168 in breadth, and forty-two in height, and is furnished with an enormous *self-supporting* roof. Not a single column, partition-wall, or buttress, assists in its support. The whole interior of the building is a vast oblong space, without any incumbrance, and has a magnificent appearance. I have particularly described and represented it in "The Character of the Russians, and a Detailed History of Moscow," p. 335.

drained by these two rivers, is sufficiently great to cause a difference in the time of their respective inundations. Thus, the ice on the upper part of the Oka, and the snows of the adjoining country, sometimes break up a month earlier than those of the Vólga, and other northern rivers, and the surrounding territories. Hence it happens, that when the waters of the Oka naturally subside, the flood is prolonged, increased or renewed, by those of the Vólga.

In addition to the inconvenience caused at Níjni-Nóvgorod by the prolonged inundation above explained, the action of the Vólga and the Oka on their banks presents an evil of considerable magnitude. Near their confluence, these two rivers describe the segment of a very large circle, the concavity of which is, in both cases, on their right bank. Here, of course, a destructive action takes place, whilst the left bank of each river becomes the deposit of whatever they leave behind. The right bank of the Oka is lofty and precipitous, and though ages may revolve before the action of this river can do material damage to the town, yet there is merely room for one narrow street at the foot of the hill, and it is annually inundated. The right bank of the Vólga, on the other hand, is a low and sandy alluvial accumulation, being, in fact, only one side of that sort of Delta which the Oka has deposited at its mouth. Of this large portions are annually carried away by the current, and thrown

upon the left bank, where an extensive sandy plain has been formed which is intersected by small branches of the river. The islands which these surround are covered with low brushwood, and are still flooded annually. This plain therefore is not cultivated; and as the land behind has but little elevation, it is not immediately perceived that it is as fertile, and as much inhabited as the high grounds on the south bank of the river. The Oka in like manner deposits on its left bank all that it brings down from the right; so that this alluvial triangle is annually gaining on one side while it is losing on the other; a considerable deposit being also left on the surface of the plain itself. It has been necessary, however, to raise the surface ten, fifteen, and even twenty feet, in order to keep the water out of the bazárs; the necessary quantity of earth having been chiefly supplied from the excavation of the canal which surrounds the establishment. A protection is also required to prevent the ravages of the Vólga.

The eligibility of the site of the bazárs seems very questionable, in consequence of the danger of an inundation during the flood of the Vólga and the Oka. Should it ever happen, by any fortuitous circumstances, that the great flood of these two rivers takes place at the same time, the bazárs, indeed, might be swallowed up, or at least destroyed. Capt. Cochrane is of opinion that the canal which has been cut around the bazárs, con-

tributes to weaken its foundation, because the canal lies streamward of the fair (bazár), and consequently, at the rises or freshes of the river, is liable to be completely overflowed. He adds, "when it is recollected that the last overflowing (flood) of the Vólga formed a new bank seven feet high above the common bed of the river between the city and the fair (bazár), it is not too much to fear that it may serve to change the course of the river whose extra rise (flood) was last year thirty-five feet. And should the new-formed bank prove a solid foundation, and resist for some years the impetuosity of the stream, there will then be no other outlet but the very site of the fair (bazár), as it stands nearly opposite to the place where the Oka discharges its waters into the Vólga." * In another place this gentleman says he feels far from convinced of "the durability or safety" of the new bazárs, on account of the incroachments of the Vólga.

It may be asked, why the weak and perishable angle between the Vólga and the Oka was chosen for the site of the bazárs, in preference to the more solid one on the opposite bank? The fact is, that there was not room at the foot of the hill for a bazár, a tenth part of the size required; and even the small space there, is annually lessened or endangered by the action of the Vólga on the north,

* Narrative of a Pedestrian Journey, p. 83.

and of the Oka on the west; both rivers here conspiring to destroy the hill. The hill itself is too uneven to admit of regular buildings of the necessary size, without being endangered by the ravines formerly noticed, whose banks are nearly as insecure as those of the river, not to speak of the labour and risk of bringing heavy goods up a steep of four hundred feet in height, all of which must descend again to be transhipped. The only good situation for the bazárs on this side the river, is already occupied by the Krémle of Níjni-Nóvgorod, and even it is very objectionable.*

General Betancourt gave the plan of the present existing bazárs at Níjni-Nóvgorod, and the details were filled up by the architect Montferon. In 1822, seven millions and a half of roubles had been already expended upon the undertaking, and the buildings were not finished. Another million and a half had been granted by the Emperor for their completion. As a reimbursement for this immense expenditure, it is calculated that the annual revenue of the bazárs, when complete, will amount to 700,000 or 800,000 roubles.

Some disagreement had taken place between the government and General Betancourt, who was

* I am indebted to the Hon. Mr. Strangways for a number of the preceding remarks; but as I have made many changes, and some additions, they could not be marked as quotations. See Transactions of the Geolog. Society, Second Series, vol. i. p. 24—26.

accused of mal-administration of the public money. The Emperor, it was said, was partial to him, and even defended him. However this may be, the General was not at Níjni-Novgórod when we were there, and an officer of high rank, who was one of his coadjutors, had been made a common soldier. It is a misfortune that it became expedient to remove General Betancourt from the direction of the great public works which he had so auspiciously conducted, and which, it is not to be doubted, he would have prosperously finished. He is succeeded in his post by the Prince of Wirtemburgh; but, as Capt. Cochrane says, "whether His Highness is a better engineer, I know not, but he does not bear that character; perhaps unjustly."

General Betancourt was convinced that he would have overcome every difficulty, and prevented every danger which the prejudiced, the interested, or the timid had anticipated, by the complete execution of his plans, which generally deserve commendation.

The bazárs at Níjni-Novgórod, I believe, form the finest establishment of the kind in the world. The situation on which they stand was raised, as mentioned, ten, fifteen, and even twenty feet; and no less than 56,000 piles were driven into the earth so as to secure a foundation for extensive buildings. The stone used in the new constructions, is partly the hard tuf of Petchérsk, which is blasted by gunpowder; a white limestone from the upper Oka; and, in part, a red sandstone,

which is quarried at Novinski, about sixteen versts up the Oka.* The bazárs are enclosed on three sides by canals, and on the fourth by an inlet of the Oka, into which ladened barges enter. The number of shops enclosed by the canals, and the oblong square formed by the government buildings, amounts to nearly 3000. The principal street, which runs between the church and the government buildings, is very spacious and elegant; and all the others are of a good breadth. All the edifices are two stories in height; the lower one being the shop, and the upper serving as a magazine; indeed many of the merchants fit up apartments in them for their temporary residence. Every shop fronts two streets. Nothing can be more simple and chaste than the general style of architecture, which well accords with the utility of the buildings. The *Kitáiskia Linia*, or *Chinese Line*, is so called because it is ornamented with pagodas, and other Eastern decorations. It is better known, however, by the name *Sibírskia Linia*, or Siberian Line. But it must not be understood that the shops of this line are limited to the sale of Chinese or Siberian merchandise; at least, in 1822, we found all kinds of European manufactures in them, and some of them were even hired by Englishmen. The best shops are in the spacious central street,

* Vide Trans. of the Geol. Society, Second Series, vol. i. p. 26.

in the Chinese Line, and at the corners of all the streets. For some of them 1000 and even 1500 roubles are paid; for others 200 to 500 or 1000 roubles, according to circumstances. They are only of use for the season, but are let for the whole year. Now they are all stuccoed, and painted yellow, and their roofs green or red. There are three government buildings, which are plain but handsome edifices, two stories high. The upper story of the central building is occupied as the residence of the governor during the fair, while the inferior story is let as an inn, for a very large sum. In the other two edifices are contained the courts of justice, the post-office, the bank, &c. all PRO TEMPORE. Vide vignette to this chapter.

Besides the stone edifices, here are 2220 wooden shops, which form a variety of markets on the town-side of the great bazár. They were erected in the year 1818, when the fair was transported from Makáriéf. Some said that they were to be destroyed, so as to concentrate all the shops to the *grand bazár:* others reported that they were, on the contrary, to remain, and to be repaired in a more gaudy style.

Merchandise of all kinds, and from all the countries of Europe and Asia, is now transported to Níjni-Nóvgorod, by the Vólga, the Oka, the Káma, and the other rivers which fall into them, as well as by land. The quantity of Russian produce disposed of is enormous; and, of course, the

fair of this town is a national concern of the highest importance. Hence it deservedly merits the greatest attention of the crown. The individual who has been a frequent visitor of the "*Bargaining Shops,*" or bazár, at Petersburgh or Moscow, may easily conceive the appearance and the nature of that at Níjni-Nóvgorod, by supposing that the goods and wares of the former, were placed in the more beautiful and regular lines of shops of the latter, and that the same variety of nations crowded them and the streets.* Here are seen the representatives of China, India, Tartary, Bucharia, Persia, Circassia, Armenia, Turkey, and Greece; besides Italians, Poles, Germans, French, English, Kozáks, Málo-Russians, and — the universal concomitants of traffic and money —Jews.

For many years past, the sale and exchange of goods at Makárief, but especially since 1818, at Níjni-Nóvgorod, have amounted to immense sums; and now this fair, with great propriety, may be reckoned one of the most extensive in Europe. In consequence of the influx of merchants, and travellers in general, it is excessively busy; although in 1822, we heard heavy complaints of dull sales. But the markets acquired a new life after our departure, at an extraordinarily late period of

* The curious reader will find all the Moscow markets described in "The Character of the Russians, &c." p. 278. Vide also p. 349. of this Volume.

the season, many of the Bucharians having been detained.

Among the objects at the bazárs which excited our greatest curiosity, was an immense range of ironmongers' shops or stalls, called *balgáns*, in which iron in the bar, as well as worked into every kind of instrument and utensil, was to be had. The table hereafter given, shows that the sale of iron, and iron articles alone, amounts to above 10,000,000 roubles. The fur-shops also merit particular notice; and the reader will be astonished at the value of their contents, the enormous sum of 36,000,000 roubles. As I have elsewhere enumerated the chief kinds of this commodity disposed of at Moscow, and as the same kinds are sold here, I shall refer to the work alluded to.* The quantity of grey and black frizzled Tartar lamb-skins seen here is astonishing. The shops of the Bucharians are visited by all strangers. Their silk sashes, and gentlemen's silk morning-gowns, are greatly admired; and are sold at 100, 120, 150, and even 200 roubles each. They can be purchased cheaper at Moscow than at Níjni-Nóvgorod. In a line of small shops are displayed immense quantities of pearls, large and small, a great proportion of which, however, are of very inferior quality. Most of them are sold for the decoration of the holy

* "Character of the Russians, &c." p. 281. See also p. 141. of this Volume.

images. Nothing can give a clearer idea of the extent to which image-worship is carried on in Russia, than the *estimate of their value*, 1,300,000 roubles, at the fair of Nĭjni-Nóvgorod; while, probably, their *real value* was far above that sum. Artificial stones, beads, ear-rings, and similar ornaments, being low-priced, are seen in profusion. A great display is also made of the china of Russia, which has attained a considerable degree of perfection, both in the quality of the material, in the execution of the painting, and in the manner of gilding, and other decorations, &c. But the Russians fail greatly in giving a perfect regular form to most articles, and it is very difficult to get a set quite alike. One cause of this may be, that in the houses of the Russian nobles, almost every cup and saucer differs from another; while a peculiarly and highly ornamented couple are presented to the landlord and the lady of the house. The same custom is often observed at dinner. A finely cut and gilded wine-bottle, and a decorated tumbler and wine-glass, &c. are placed for the master and mistress of the mansion, far superior in appearance to those of the rest of the family, and (what is surprising) to those of the guests, even when they are of the highest rank — the Imperial family excepted. So it is, that what would be reckoned an insult in some countries is sanctioned by custom in others. The The milliners' shops, which were well supplied

with every kind of article, seemed to be the centre of fashion here, as at Moscow and Petersburgh. The carriage-market contained a number of calashes, britchkas, coaches, chaises, &c. of no imposing appearance, and many of them second-hand, but generally at a low price. A number of Kazán *kibítkas*, which are famous over Russia, are annually sold here. In the horse-markets and temporary stables we saw a great number of horses, some of which were fine animals, and well deserved the examination of the amateur; but the greatest part were of very common breeds, and of very inferior appearance. Besides the traffic in the shops, much business is also transacted on board the barges in the Oka. Many of these were filled with the finest cured fish of the Don and the Vólga. No barrels are employed, the boats being made on purpose to contain fish; and, of course, to retain their brine.

The following is a translation of the list of goods and capital announced at the Director's Office, at the fair of Níjni-Nóvgorod, in the year 1821. We were told that, probably to save expenses, they were estimated at no more than a third of their real value; a statement which is not to be credited.

Merchandise, &c.	Roubles.
Siberian and Moscow furs - -	- 36,000,000
Armenian goods - - -	- 5,900,000
In the Siberian or Chinese line -	- 31,000,000
Booksellers' line - - -	- 500,000

Merchandise, &c.	Roubles.
Hatters' line	419,000
Russian line	5,175,000
Small silver plate and pearls	1,500,000
Large silver plate	5,500,000
Russian brocades, lace, &c.	18,000,000
Cloth	5,000,000
Silk, cambric, Dutch linen	30,633,000
Silk girdles	1,500,000
Writing-paper	500,000
Fruits	1,800,000
Spices and drugs	10,000,000
Wax and tallow candles	500,000
Russian dresses (ready made)	490,000
Needles, pins, and artificial stones	2,465,000
Stockings and *Tricoterie*	9,476,000
Copper and tin	2,308,000
Bells	3,000,000
Locks, instruments, &c.	1,997,000
Images, (pictures of the saints, &c.)	1,300,000
Dressmakers' goods	800,000
Porcelain	580,000
Furniture and looking-glasses	740,000
Wine and brandy	6,580,000
Iron	10,500,000
Bucharian goods	8,158,000
Soap	2,200,000
Siberian and Makariéf chests	800,000
Snuff	100,000
Winter (fur) boots	500,000
Mats	800,000
Clocks and watches	165,000
Carriages	200,000
Book-cases and glass	55,000
Wine-glasses	658,000
Wire	80,000
Cordage	1,500,000
Provisions sold in retail	200,000
Raw hides	1,365,000

Merchandise, &c.	Roubles.
Worked metals	400,000
Bakers' goods	80,000
Butchers' ditto	90,000
Hay and oats	60,000
Potash, soda, sheep-skins	3,275,000
Public houses	25,000
Inns	150,000
Money-changers	10,160,000
Horses	1,160,000
Total	226,344,000 *

Of course we must not conceive that above half of the goods were sold. Hence Captain Cochrane remarks: "The fair, in point of value, is considered as second to none in Europe; the business done being estimated at nearly 200,000,000 of roubles. This computation may, probably, allow a deduction of about one-half; but, in any case, the government derives from it a considerable revenue." As the fair of Níjni-Nóvgorod acquires new interest every day, and as a great quantity of British goods are annually transported thither, the following specification of merchandise sold at this fair in 1823, I think, will be interesting and useful. *In the Stone Bazárs*,—Tea, about 37,000 *tsibiks* (each sixty pounds), from 280 to 600 and even to 800 paper roubles, 12,000,000: — Sugar, about 60,000 poods, from thirty to forty-five, 2,000,000; — Coffee, about 3,000 poods, from seventy to eighty-five, 240,000; —

* It was 230,941,883 in the original, but was evidently a mistake.

Damask, velvet, stuffs, silk, mohairs, 13,500,000; — Lace, gold cords, &c. 500,000; — Different kinds of silk, as *gros de Tours*, Persian, satin, handkerchiefs, &c. 10,000,000; — Woollen stuffs, as Cashemirs, merinos, camelots, &c. 2,500,000; — Half-silk and half-cotton stuffs, 2,500,000; — Muslin, coarse cotton cloth, linen, &c. 5,000,000; — Table-cloths and napkins, 210,000; — Cloth, kerseymeres, frieze, &c. 4,800,000; — Nankeens, 480,000; — Russian nankeens, 400,000; — Russian linen, 250,000; — Sable, polecat, squirrel, bear, wolf skins, &c. 5,000,000; — Hare and sheep-skins, common pelisses (tooloops), 100,000; — Stockings of all kinds, nightcaps, covers, gloves, 350,000; — Hats and bonnets of every kind, the hair of hares, &c. 160,000; — Made clothes, 200,000; — White unbleached cotton from Bucharia, 2,900,000; — Spun cotton, white and red, 250,000; — Stuffs and nightgowns of Bucharian and Persian silk, 700,000; — Different kinds of silk, 400,000; — *Modes*, robes, shawls, handkerchiefs, pearls, precious stones, and different kinds of clothes, 1,280,000; — Silver plate, sacred vases and utensils, tea-services, spoons, &c. 1,200,000; — Other similar utensils in copper and tin, 560,000; — Clocks, 145,000; — Paper and wax, 400,000; — Needles and pins, false pearls, glass, yellow amber, beads, and other (bagatelles) trifles, 900,000; — Carpenters' tools, copper, iron, guns, pistols, sabres, tea-urns from Túla, 540,000; — Different

fruits, confections, cheese, olives, capers, Provence oil, and lemon juice, 766,000; — Toys, 25,000; — All kinds of candles, 205,000; — Books, maps, paintings, images of the saints, 210,000; — Physical, optical, and musical instruments, 50,000; — Morocco shoes, shammy leather, embroidered boots, 265,000; — Tanned goatskins, Moroccos, Russian leather, 300,000; — Untanned horse, ox, veal, goat, and sheepskins, 380,000; — Harness, 120,000.

In the Wooden Bazárs, different kinds of paints, alum, sulphur, saltpetre, vitriol, naphtha, &c. 3,600,000; — Furniture and glass, 577,000; — Porcelain, 525,000; — Crystal, 515,000; — Different kinds of trunks and work-boxes, common sheep-skin caps, socks and mittens of carded wool, 175,000; Cables, cords, and mats, 180,000; — Tobacco and snuff, 100,000; —Pot-ashes and buck-ashes, 108,000; — Soaps, 835,000; — Copper and cast utensils from the smithies and founderies of Siberia, 10,360,000; — Wines, spirits, liquors, and other kinds of drink, 4,380,000. — General total, 94,380,000. According to the declaration of the merchants, of these goods, there were sold for 50,000,000 R. *au comptant*. The gain is estimated at 2,500,000 roubles. In the *Stone-Bazárs* there were let 1286 shops, for the sum of 377,125 R.; and, in the *Wooden Bazárs*, 1551 shops for 132,537 R. Of the rents, fifteen per cent. viz. 76,230-$\frac{45}{100}$ is received for keeping the bridges in

repair. The fair ended on the 28th of August, O. S.; the most advantageous business took place toward its conclusion.*

The following data will enable the reader to form a judgment, with respect to the increase of commerce at Níjni-Nóvgorod, in comparison with that when the national fair was held at Makáriéf. In the year 1813, according to Hermann, there were —

At Makáriéf	Roubles.
Russian goods to the value of -	32,346,000
Foreign ditto - - -	11,224,000
Liskova, opposite Makáriéf	
Russian goods to the value of -	8,584,359
Total	52,154,359

In 1811 the shop-rents at Makáriéf yielded the sum of 112,017 roubles; and, in 1813, notwithstanding the melancholy effects of the invasion of 1812,—111,021 roubles.

In every sense of the word, the annual assemblage of so many individuals, of different nations, at Níjni-Nóvgorod, may be called a fair, both for commerce and amusement. A wooden theatre is fitted up, which is to be replaced by a stone edifice. We attended a kind of circus, where we saw "the horse of knowledge," "dancing dogs," exhibi-

* Vide *Bulletin Universel* for June, 1824, under Économie Publique, p. 449.

tions of wild animals, and other amusements, as at Bartholomew fair.

We were present at a ball given by the civil governor, and were much amused by an account of a very rich princess, who was of the party, and who had been exchanging iron for silk plaids, shawls, &c. quite *à la Russe.*

Great accommodations have of late been made for travellers in Nĭjni-Nóvgorod, but still it is difficult to procure good lodgings. Ours had been previously hired, in consequence of letters having been sent on purpose; but, although delightfully situated, they were at a distance from the market, which proved a great inconvenience. They cost very high, no less than 350 roubles for the short time the party remained there; but, it is true, that for the same sum they might have retained them till the conclusion of the fair. The principal inn, under the governor's house, was kept in 1822, by Le Duc, a French *restaurateur*, who had been long established at Moscow. Excellent dinners were given at three roubles per person, and for five, very superior ones. The wines were likewise good, and every thing was in fine order. Le Duc had engaged to pay a great rent for the inn; but, as it was crowded with visitors from morning till night, there could not be a doubt that the speculation would yield him a good profit. A number of Russian inns on the town side of the canal, were also in good repair. In one of them I dined well

for two roubles, but their common custom is to give as many dishes as you ask up to six, at fifty kopeeks each for the *gras*, and sixty for the *maigre*.

Mr. Baird, of Petersburgh, who, in 1815, received a patent for steam-boats throughout Russia for ten years, and to whom belong all those which ply between Petersburgh and Cronstadt, has united with Mr. Ephreïnof, and some other noblemen, to send four of them to be employed between Níjni-Nóvgorod, Astrachán, and the shores of the Caspian Sea, and it is calculated that an extensive commerce will thus be established. Two of these steamboats, which lay above the bridge which crosses the Oka, excited uncommon attention in 1822, their appearance being quite novel to thousands of visitors. A party of pleasure having engaged one of them, sailed some versts up the Vólga with a band of musicians playing, and rivetted the attention of innumerable beholders, many of whom had never before seen a boat in motion without the aid of oars or wind. The interest of the details respecting Níjni-Nóvgorod will plead my excuse for their length, but I must again return to the journey.

After passing some days at Níjni-Nóvgorod, and having concluded all necessary arrangements with the party with whom I had been travelling, I was obliged to return to Moscow on account of business, while they remained some time longer. Hav-

ing no carriage of my own, I was glad to embrace an offer made by one of the most respectable merchants of Túla, to give me a share of his, provided I paid half the expenses of the post-horses. As another Túla merchant and a Moscow merchant were to accompany us in a *kibítka*, I was glad to have so good an opportunity of travelling in a new kind of society, which afforded me room for fresh observations. These merchants turned out to be among the best of their rank whom I have ever met in Russia; they all behaved well to me; and, what was rather surprising, they did not attempt to overreach me, except on a single occasion.

My *companion* had made a contract with private boors that we should reach Moscow in four days, and I was glad to find he had determined to follow a line of road partly new to me, which is generally taken by the merchants, and is said to be some versts shorter than the post-road. They for the most part travel in very light equipages, and of course the frequent ascent and descent of intervening hills is of little consequence; but this road could not be easily followed by heavy carriages, though better than the post-road.

The country through which we travelled was as varied, and more pleasant, than that which we saw in the parallel line of road by which we had advanced. Soon after passing through the insignificant town of Gorbátof, we crossed the Oka, which

we found here broader than at Múrom, and continued our route to Goróchovets, another small district town in the government of Vladímir, upon the right bank of the Kliăsma, and surrounded by woods. It contains a monastery, three churches, a linen fabric, and five tanneries. Its inhabitants amount to 1500, and the women are said to make thread which equals that of Holland. The only other place worthy of notice was Viăsniki, which also lies upon the Kliăsma upon the declivity, and at the base of a steep hill, and is enlivened greatly by a convent, a couple of churches, and some large linen fabrics, besides some excellent store-houses. It is distinguished for the quality of its linen. It likewise contains some tanneries. Its orchards are famous for the excellent apples and cherries which they produce. Its inhabitants amount to about 1000.

On the morning of the third day after our departure, we reached Vladímir, and thence continued our journey toward Moscow by the same route by which our party had advanced.

At the distance of twenty-one versts from Moscow, we had an opportunity of seeing Pékra, the fine estate of Prince —— Galitsin. A stately mansion-house, with two wings, and an adjoining church and belfry, rising amid lofty trees and shrubbery, with a green lawn sloping to a lake of considerable size, have a grand appearance. The road unfortunately passes too near the house, and

there is a wooden bridge over the lake, which crosses it in an oblique line, which has a disagreeable effect.

Four versts farther, or seventeen versts from Moscow, the next object which excites notice is Górenki, which belongs to Count A. K. Rasumóvskii, and is now celebrated throughout Europe on account of its magnificent botanic gardens. Its situation is rather flat, in consequence of which the triumphs of labour and art are so much more conspicuous. The mansion is quite a princely residence. It is large, not overloaded with ornaments, and built in a good style of architecture. The interior apartments are very spacious and elegant, and the furniture is quite consonant with the exterior impression. In the basement story is a fine promenade through a gallery 130 *sajins*, or 910 *feet* long, including at each end a commodious forcing-house. It has a magnificent appearance, and is made doubly agreeable by the sweets of orange and lemon groves, as well as the quantities of peaches and apricots produced. The gardens are laid out with a good deal of taste. Gravel walks, ponds, lakes with islands, together with temples and statues, are their chief ornaments, and in them grow nearly 2000 hardy perennials. The collection of plants here amounts in all to between nine and ten thousand. The hot-houses are eleven in number, in six separate buildings, arranged in two rows. Some of them are extremely large, and

the front of the whole, collectively, amounts to 164 sajins, or 1148 feet. Here are enjoyed Asiatic pleasures in the rigorous climate of Russia—walks amidst woods and groves of tropical vegetation even when the cold is 30° of Reaumur, or 35° below zero of Fahrenheit.

The establishment at Górenki, *in toto*, is one of the most magnificent in the world, and perhaps its equal was never supported by any individual. The cost for wood alone, in the cold climate of the north, is enormous, and I have been assured that the annual expenditure has been from seventy to one hundred thousand roubles.

Górenki has been known about twenty-two years by its botanic gardens, but it is chiefly within the last eighteen that it has acquired such renown. Dr. Radóvskii, a man of talents, was its director for a few years, and had formed a considerable collection of plants. My worthy friend, Dr. F. Fischer, that distinguished botanist, and most amiable man, has been director of these gardens for about sixteen years, and to him almost the whole celebrity of Górenki is due. His zeal and discoveries are well known throughout Europe, and require no encomium from my pen. The extent and solidity of his general knowledge, the goodness of his heart, the unassuming gentleness of his manners, and his readiness to oblige all, are best known to his friends.

The gardens of Górenki form a famous nursery,

and may be called the *botanical emporium of the Russian empire;* of the Ukraine, the Krimea, the Caucasus, Georgia, part of Tartary, Siberia, Kamstchatka, and the Russian isles, between the latter and America. Catalogues of the plants contained in this nursery are frequently published, and are distributed throughout Europe.

By connections already established in different countries, seeds have been received at Górenki of numerous undescribed plants. Indeed many new plants, which have enriched and embellished the botanic gardens of Europe, most probably would have remained unknown to the botanic world for many years to come, but for Górenki and its director.

The correspondence of Dr. Fischer with Europe, and the number of packets of seeds annually sent by him to the botanic gardens, and to distinguished patrons of botany, is so enormous, that I dare not even state it, fearful of exciting suspicion as to its authenticity. For these he receives seeds from all quarters in exchange; a practice which he wishes to encourage to the greatest extent.

The above account of the gardens of Górenki was chiefly drawn up above two years ago, and before the death of Count Rasumóvskii. The young Count, who has succeeded to a great part of his father's property, has ever since conducted himself very imprudently, and Górenki is likely to fall into ruins. This noble is said to

neglect and despise every thing that relates to science. Estates, houses, gardens, furniture, horses, cattle, plants, every thing he will part with to obtain money: an article that has been scarce, in consequence of the immense debts of his father. He has even parted with the *family cannon*, if I may so speak. How much was I surprised in the summer of 1823, on making a trip to Archangelskoyé, one of the seats of Prince Yuzúpof, on finding some beautiful brass cannon, bearing the Rasumóvskii arms and initials upon them, which had been used on birth-days, names-days, festivals, &c. And how shocked was I on learning that the young Count had sold them to the Prince for a bagatelle!

The collection of exotic plants at Górenki had been offered to the Russian government for 250,000 or 300,000 roubles. The crown, however, would only give 150,000, and the offer was rejected. As the young Count has not the means of keeping them in order, it is to be feared that they will be almost totally lost.

In the mean time, Dr. Fischer has been engaged by the Russian government, and is now organising a most extensive botanic garden at St. Petersburgh, which has been liberally endowed by the Emperor Alexander. Last summer he visited the most distinguished gardens both in England and Scotland, and returned to Russia with an immense harvest; which, I understand, cost him but a trifle. Thus His Imperial Majesty will reap the advantage of

Dr. Fischer's connexions, and be saved the expense of thousands of roubles. The establishment is calculated to do both the sovereign, the nation, and the director, great credit.

I have lately learned that the gardens at Górenki are in a very ruinous condition, and that Count Rasumóvskii's affairs are in the greatest embarrassment, which is not at all surprising, and is quite *à la Russe*. The immense fortune of the hetman of the Ukraine, Count Kiril Rasumóvskii, the favourite of the Empress Elizabeth, was divided among a number of sons, all of whom fell into embarrassed circumstances while they had vast estates, much property, and great annual revenues. Count Alexei, the late proprietor of Górenki, had a revenue of above 600,000 roubles a year; an immense sum in Russia; yet this nobleman was almost always in difficulty for want of money. His magnificent establishments at Pótchop, Górenki, Moscow, &c., his style of living, the support of numerous natural children in a manner befitting their rank, in civil life and in the army, and the impositions of sycophants and stewards, all contributed their share to his difficulties; and his dotage, being accompanied by a degree of imbecility, still led to their augmentation. But he was one of hundreds who are placed in such circumstances. I should like to see a list of all the nobles of Moscow, with their revenues, expenses, and balance of accounts. There, probably, is not one in a hundred

of the higher nobility whose affairs are in regular order. I have never known more than two individuals who seemed to know their true condition; and to my surprise, one of these, who has a revenue of about a million of roubles per annum, was lately necessitated to apply to the *Lombard*, in consequence of an ill-calculated, extensive, and unfortunate speculation of the head-steward, and other extravagant schemes, such as building, gardens, &c. In the mean time, however, that person became rich, because he had a certain allowance *or present*, from all those with whom he had dealings; and the more affairs, whether advantageous or ruinous to his employer, the more profit for him.

The Russian nobility are notorious for getting into debt and mortgaging their estates. The facility of doing so arises partly from the eagerness with which the merchants supply the wants of the rich, either with goods or money, and partly from the simple process of pledging their estates at the *Lombard*. But great art is practised to obtain money by those who are known to be already in debt, or to have lost their credit. Were I to search all Russia, I could not find a more striking illustration than the hero of the following story. General ——— had lost his credit among all the established merchants, tailors, workmen, &c. in both the capitals of Russia, and indeed wherever he was known. Being in want of some clothes while at Petersburgh, he sent for a tailor who had lately

begun business, and of whom he had no knowledge. I was present when the stranger was announced. He was immediately received by the General in his cabinet, and in the most polite manner. His Excellency ordered a quantity of clothes, and begged the tailor to take his measure. The high-sounding titles of *General and Excellency*, which were repeated by the surrounding servants in every answer to their master's questions, seemed to have great effect upon the poor man, who was delighted with such an order. A few days afterwards, when, by chance, I again was with the General, the tailor appeared with all the clothes. His Excellency having examined them, begged him to sit down till he had finished a letter, as he was much pressed with important business, in consequence of a law process about nearly a million of roubles. The letter being finished, the General entered into the details of the said process, and was liberal in his criticisms upon *the corruption and bribery of the courts of equity*, and particularly mentioned the presents of horses and money which had been given to his agents. He took especial care to inform the tailor that at length the process had taken a favourable turn, and that he should soon be in possession of his cash. The conversation which followed was to the following effect: "I see, sir," said the General, "you are acquainted with your business, and I wish to encou-

rage you, but *Moi Golúbtchik* *, I shall not be able to pay you beyond half the amount of your bill at present, in consequence of a disappointment in the receipt of some thousand roubles; but it is immaterial, I will give you a bill for the other half, which will become due in three or four months, the time when I shall receive the *obrok* of my peasants." The tailor bowed assent. Then the General related the history of another law process with a silversmith, whose roguery he hoped would soon be exposed, and said he had been assured by the procurator, that the affair was about to terminate in his favour. A second interlude followed. "*Moi Golúbtchik*," resumed the General, while pulling out his pocket-book and counting his money, and apparently making a calculation in the most specious manner—"*Moi Golúbtchik*, I find that it will not be possible to give you more than one-third of your money to-day, and I will grant you a bill for the remainder." As before, the simple man signified his approbation by a low bow, and unfortunately said, "At your Excellency's pleasure." The General next entertained the tailor with a long account of the estate where he resided, and concluded his harangue by inviting him to come there, and receive the money himself in sum-

* *Moi Golúbtchik* is a term of caress, which is used to common people. It literally means "*my dove*;" and is equal to, my dear, or my heart.

mer. Apparently, as he was about to draw out the bill, he laid down the pen, called his body-servant, and asked whether he wanted any more clothes. The servant, who well knew his master's manœuvres, replied in the affirmative, and enumerated the articles required. Pretending indifference, the General now asked the tailor if he could have them made by such a day? The order was registered, and the deluded man was immediately amused with a number of histories, as interesting to him as the former. The General, putting his book into his pocket, then added, "By the by, I need not trouble you and myself about the account till the whole amount is known; when you come with the other clothes we will finish the affair. Every thing went on smoothly, the articles were prepared, and brought by the time appointed, i. e. on the day of the General's departure from the residence. Tea was served to the tailor, and every politeness shown him, as if he had been a gentleman; many amusing anecdotes were related, and the pleasing term *Golúbtchik* was frequently repeated. An account of unexpected expenses was then produced, which rendered it impossible for him now to pay the third part of the amount of his bill. The fascination of his Excellency again took effect. A bill due after four months for the sum total was drawn out, with which the tailor departed; and a few hours afterwards the General was upon the road to Moscow.

I was witness to similar scenes and conduct with a boot-maker, and with an image-painter at Moscow, and at the General's estate they became so familiar, that I could have enjoyed them more than theatrical comedies, had not pity for the sufferers called forth my sympathy.

To the following history, I may probably be told parallels might be found in every country of the world, Britain not excepted; but, as similar cases are extremely common in Russia, it, in a considerable degree, represents a national feature. It is under this impression that I detail it.

Mr. P., who was not rich himself, succeeded in obtaining the hand of Miss K., the daughter of a very wealthy Moscow merchant, in preference to a number of other suitors, who were descended from more distinguished families. As is very common in Russia, Miss K. was placed under the care of a duenna, who had much influence, direct and indirect, over her mind and actions. Mr. P., well aware of this circumstance, secured the good graces of the old lady by promises of a liberal reward, provided his object was accomplished; in the mean time giving her presents as an earnest of his future generosity. The duenna therefore sounded Mr. P.'s praises continually in the ears of the thoughtless young lady, and with assiduity made false reports to the disparagement of all her other suitors. Her plans had the desired success: the marriage was solemnised: the

large fortune was secured: and the duenna had a handsome sum for her obliging aud useful assistance. The new-married couple lived in the most extravagant manner; kept open table; gave balls and other entertainments to their friends; and soon got into embarrassments, which were increased by the addition of two children to their family. Mrs. P.'s father died, and left her a second fortune. The old system of life, which necessity had somewhat changed, was immediately renewed, and persevered in, till Mr. P.'s circumstances became considerably involved. The *opportune* death of Mrs. P.'s brother, who was immensely rich, threw a third fortune into his hands, or, at least, at his disposal; for Mrs. P. did not — as the law authorises, and as many others of her sex have done — remain mistress of her own property. Mr. P., now richer than ever, honourably paid his debts, lived in the most expensive manner, became a great speculative farmer, continued his extravagance, and, in a few years, a third time found himself in difficulties. Although he had a good annual revenue, yet he was not the man to recover himself by wise plans and economy: his embarrassments augmented from year to year, and at length he died of chagrin, whilst on a visit to a beautiful estate in the government of Kaluga.

Mr. P. had by no means been brought up in extravagance. He had received a good education, and, in his youth, had spent a winter at Edinburgh,

and attended some of the lectures at the University. He had an extremely sensible corporeal system, and the irritability of his mind was excessive. He had a good heart, and his principles were excellent. Whilst in affluent circumstances, his manners were cheerful, his conduct honourable, and his liberality carried to excess: when in difficulties, he was peevish and ill-natured, niggardly, and some say even dishonest. His fits of passion, to which he was at all times liable, obscured his judgment; and led him, contrary, I believe, to the dictates of his conscience, into many improprieties and foolish actions. He fell the sacrifice of a misguided mind.

Such are some of the deeds of the Russians, and such are the truths which every impartial writer must bring forward, or be silent. Though liberal in criticism, yet I am rather inclined to regard them as a *depraved* than a *bad* people. The hospitality, sociability, charity, temperance, and elegance of manner, of the higher classes of the nobles, are worthy of the praise, and even of the imitation, of nations much more remote from barbarism and degradation. The ignorance and immorality of most of the clergy, the general deception and villany of the merchants, and the depression and slavery of the peasants, are to be regretted. Still I am convinced, that, among all classes of Russians, the elements of improvement and knowledge are in activity, and will make rapid advance-

ment.* On the 21st of August, I reached Moscow, and completed the tour which was proposed to be made with the party by whom I was engaged.

Since I published *The Character of the Russians, and a Detailed History of Moscow*, some facts have been developed to which I shall now turn the attention of the reader; especially as they are contained in a work which, though very meritorious, from its nature, is not likely to meet with a general perusal. It would argue insensibility, did I not feel a degree of complacency at the confirmation of several of my opinions contained in the work just mentioned, by no less an individual than Colonel Boutourlin, one of the aides-de-camp of the Emperor Alexander, and, perhaps, even by the Emperor himself. My volume was finished in 1823, and published early in January 1824; and, but a few months afterwards, Boutourlin's work, *Histoire Militaire de la Campagne de Russie*, appeared at Paris. Is it possible to conceive, that the Russian government, no longer able to conceal the truth respecting the burning of Moscow, and the concomitant events, at length agreed that Colonel Boutourlin should be chosen as the organ of its publicity? If the Colonel affirms that his work was written,

* On these subjects I have dwelt at length, in "The Character of the Russians."

or even that part of it, which treats of the points just mentioned, was in the press before mine saw the light, the coincidence of our opinions, nay of our expressions, is very remarkable. But it may be questioned, whether Colonel Boutourlin did not alter his text after the publication of *The Character of the Russians &c.*; a copy of which reached the Imperial palace at Petersburgh by express, though not sent by me. I foresaw his Imperial Majesty's displeasure at the too free disclosure of truths, my avowed enmity to despotism, and my love of liberty. Hence, though the work in question was dedicated to the Emperor, I never sent him a copy. My *friends at court* dared not present it, and I could not have asked a stranger, far less those become my enemies, to do me such a favour.

Colonel Boutourlin's elaborate, ingenious, and handsome volumes, do honour to himself and to his country, and, I may add, to his sovereign; as there seems every reason to believe that the Emperor perused every page of them before publication, and, perhaps, even revised the proof sheets. The general impartiality, accuracy, freedom from extensive exaggeration and national animosity, of these volumes, greatly enhance their value; and the generous allowance of the military merits of the French, and the high compliments bestowed upon Buonaparte, amid some censure, are the offspring of a truly noble mind. Colonel Boutour-

lin's volumes are extremely interesting in another point of view. Each chapter concludes with remarks and criticisms on the motions both of the French and the Russian armies. The reader will be pleased, I think, with the following quotation. Boutourlin, after charging Tchítchagof for having manœuvred *avec une lenteur qui eut une influence funeste sur l'ensemble des opérations*, and for not having joined General Tchaplits earlier, so as to have attacked the small number of the French who had then crossed the Beresina, candidly admits, that the conduct of Buonaparte, at the passage of that river, is above all eulogy. "He found resources," says he, "where a less able general would not have suspected their possibility. — Invested on all sides, Napoleon *ne perd pas la tête ;* by able demonstrations, he deceives the generals who were opposed to him ; and sliding, so to speak, between the armies which prepare themselves to fall upon him, he performs his passage at a well-chosen point." Indeed Colonel Boutourlin's work seems by far the most accurate, and the most complete, which has been published with respect to the campaign of 1812; and, I doubt not, will remain a national monument of that memorable epoch. How happy am I to have to record something honourable of the Russians!!!

The works of Boutourlin, and of an anonymous French writer, who was an artillery officer of the old guard of Napoleon, may be recommended to

the perusal of military men in general. By means of the valuable atlas and plans of the former, they will be enabled to follow the text of both with great advantage, and hence may derive many valuable lessons in strategy.

According to Boutourlin, the Russian army, after the memorable battle of Borodíno, not daring there to hazard a repetition of the combat, gradually retreated toward Moscow. On the 30th of August (11th of September), the chief division of the army reached Mamónovo; the camp of which was fortified, *par quelques ouvrages de campagne*. This measure gave rise to the opinion that Prince Kutúsof again wished to encounter the French before resigning himself to the abandonment of Moscow. But it appears that the general-in-chief had only made such dispositions, the better to conceal his determination to evacuate the capital. It was so much the more urgent to make the troops believe that they should yet fight in defence of Moscow, *as it was, perhaps, the only way to retain them under their standards*, and to prevent them from disbanding in that immense city.

On the 1st (13th) of September, the Russian army took up its position within two versts of the Dorogomílovskŏi barrier of that city, its right being supported by an angle of the Moskvá, before the village of Fili, and its left by the heights of Vorobéévya, (the Sparrow-hill,) while its centre stretched between the village Troítskoyé and Volínskoyé.

The Moskvá, which at this place forms a prolonged creek, was behind the lines of the army, as was also the Dorogolmílovskaya Slóboda, or suburb.

In the mean time, divisions of the French army were advancing by different routes. In the evening of the same day, Prince Kutúsof, although determined to abandon Moscow, called a council of war, *afin de n'avoir l'air* of having himself decided to come to this sad extremity, except with the advice of his principal officers. The council was composed of Generals Bennigsen, Barklay, Dóktorof, Osterman, Konovnítsin, and Yermólof, and the quarter-master-general Toll. The Prince, after having exposed the state of things, asked each member of the council to deliver his opinion on the following question: "*Ought we to await the attack of the enemy in the position occupied by the army, or is it necessary to evacuate the capital without a battle?*" General Barklay, who spoke first, affirmed that the position was not tenable, and proposed to evacuate Moscow, and to retreat upon Níjni-Nóvgorod, which he regarded as a point so much the more important, that it formed the *liaison* of the northern and the southern provinces. General Bennigsen, supported by Dóktorof, opposed this advice, pretending that the position was sufficiently strong, and that the army ought there to accept of another battle. General Konovnítsin, although he was not of General Bennigsen's opinion with respect to the goodness of the position

of Fili, believed it still the duty of the army to make new efforts before it abandoned the capital, and proposed to march and attack the enemy wherever they met him. Osterman and Yermólof adhered to this advice; but the latter remarked, that it was necessary to know if the roads had been examined, which ought to serve *pour l'offensive projetée*. Finally, Colonel Toll, having little faith in the surety of the position of Fili, represented that it appeared to him most advantageous to make a flank march by lines, and by the left, with the design of establishing itself in a lateral position, the right at Vorobéévya, the left between the old and the new Kalúga roads.

The diversity of these opinions, none of which was free from inconveniences, gave the general-in-chief all necessary latitude for rejecting them. The question in debate, reduced to its most simple form, may be thus stated — "*Is the preservation of the army of more importance for the safety of the country than that of the capital?*" The answer could not but be in the affirmative; and it thence resulted, that it would have been *inconséquent de risquer le plus pour le moins.*

At this time the Russian army, encamped at the gates of Moscow, consisted of about 90,000 men, bearing arms, but only 65,000 of them were old regular troops, and 6000 Kozáks; the remainder being recruits and militia. Above 10,000 of the latter had not even musquets, but were armed with

pikes. With such troops to have fronted 120,000 men, whom Napoleon had at his orders, would have been to risk a too probable defeat, and Moscow might then have become the tomb of the Russian army, when obliged, in its retreat, to defile through the labyrinth of streets of that great city. These reasons appeared in favour of the opinion of General Barklay, but in subscribing to his advice to abandon the capital, the line of retreat which he proposed could not be adopted. The Russian army, by withdrawing upon Níjni-Nóvgorod, would have followed an intermediate line, which presented no direct *liaison* either with the provinces of the north or of the south. It is beyond all question, that the most advantageous plan would have been that of Colonel Toll, by gaining the Kalúga, or the Túla road, where not only would there have been free communications, but also the possibility of menacing the line of operations of the enemy, who passed by Smolénsk and Mojaisk. Unfortunately the flank march, which it would have been necessary to execute in sight of the enemy, so as to reach these roads, could have been too easily intercepted by the French, who, for that purpose, had only to extend by their right. Indeed, the march of Poniatóvskii, by the new Kalúga road, already passed beyond the left of the Russians, and would have facilitated the execution of this counter-manœuvre by the enemy. All these difficulties did not escape the penetration of Prince Kutúsof, who spoke in his

turn. Remarking, that the loss of Moscow was not the loss of Russia, he declared that he thought it his first duty to preserve the army; to approach the reinforcements which he expected; and, finally, even to profit by the cession of the capital, in order to draw the enemy into a snare, where his ruin would be infallible, and that consequently he had decided to abandon Moscow, and to retreat by the Kolómna road. The members of the council of war having no objections to the determination of the general-in-chief, orders were instantly despatched to carry his plan into execution.

All circumstances considered, the operations proposed by the Marshal were indeed the most advantageous. The Kolómna road is directed toward the southern provinces, and the army could follow it with so much the greater security, as in this march it would have its flank nearest the enemy, covered by the Moskva. But this direction chosen by Kutúsof ought to be admired, especially as an operation preparatory to the "*manœuvre sublime*," which was developed a short time afterwards, and is shortly to be noticed.

On the 2d (14th) September, a day of eternal mourning for all hearts truly Russian, the camp of Fili was raised at three o'clock in the morning, and the army entered Moscow, by the barrier of Dorogomílof, and it had to traverse the greatest diameter of the town to leave it by the Kolómna road. As the decision of the council of war had been kept

secret, the troops only knew it while entering the city. Consternation spread among all ranks; Moscow presented the most melancholy aspect; the houses were deserted, and only a few inhabitants were met flying with their most valuable effects. The march of the army, though performed with admirable order, circumstances considered, had more the appearance *d'une pompe funèbre que d'une marche militaire.* The downcast countenances of the troops truly testified how much they were afflicted by the cruel necessity of abandoning ancient Moscow, which they had been accustomed to regard *comme l'ame de l'empire Russe.* The officers and the soldiers wept with rage and with despair.

The commandant of Moscow having likewise received orders to evacuate the city with the garrison regiment stationed there, began his march, preceded by thundering music, to join the columns of the army which defiled in the streets. The striking contrast of this troop, so inconceivably gay, *avec les dispositions sombres de tous les esprits,* caused violent murmurs among the brave men who had escaped the horrors of Borodíno. "*Who is the traitor who rejoices in the misfortunes of his country?*" resounded from every quarter. The chiefs hastened toward this column to cause the music to cease, and with difficulty they succeeded. The commandant was a brave soldier, but a foreigner, and he could not comprehend why he was

prevented from evacuating the place with the honours of war. *

In another work I have detailed the manner in which the French took possession of Moscow, and treated at great length of the *burning* of that capital in 1812. † After the afflicting details of these events, I have confronted the most opposite and the most authentic opinions, with respect to the long agitated questions, "*Who burned Moscow?*" and then stated my own conviction in the following words:—"Were I to give an opinion, formed upon enquiry among the natives, high and low, and among foreigners of different nations, established at Moscow, some of whom never quitted the city, I should state decidedly, that *the Russians themselves burned Moscow* in the year 1812."

From the same authorities I concluded, that the conflagration of that city was undertaken upon a premeditated plan, and I expressed my astonishment that an action, which has called forth the eulogies of the whole world, and that is likely to be handed down to posterity by the bards of Russia, as a most glorious example of patriotism, and as one of the most distinguished events in history, should still be disavowed by the Russians. The only explanation of this extraordinary conduct

* Histoire Militaire de la Campagne de Russie, p. 356—364.

† Character of the Russians, p. 484—502.

which I could give was the following: "I believe that the Russian government was glad to have so good an opportunity to exasperate the minds of the populace of Moscow, and of the peasantry in its vicinity, by exaggerating the *atrocious and barbarous conduct* of the Emperor Napoleon, and by proclaiming him the author of the conflagration, with a view to give them an idea of what they were to expect, if the towns and the villages of the interior were taken possession of by the enemy:"— an opinion which is confirmed by Boutourlin.

Self-preservation seems to have been the true cause both of the deceitful measures which were adopted to keep the greatest part of the inhabitants of Moscow in ignorance with respect to its approaching fall into the hands of the French, and of the disavowal of the subsequent burning of this capital. Both before and after Napoleon triumphantly entered the city, none could tell how the tide of public opinion might flow, or whether the peasants might not be roused against the nobles. The widely-circulated report, that Moscow was burned by the French, was a *ruse politique de guerre*, invented by those who knew their country and its people. Had the burning of Moscow been announced, at the moment, as the voluntary act of the government, at least three-fourths of the general population would have imagined that ministers had gone mad, and would have deemed those who obeyed their order as only fit for bedlam. Tell

the peasants of Russia, even at this day, that Moscow was burned for the safety of the empire, and for the salvation of Europe, in a word, was a sacrifice at the shrine of patriotism, and they will never comprehend your logic. They will repeat a thousand times the same argument, "No, no; the French burnt Moscow;" and there is no possibility of changing their conviction. Besides, the first sentiment of the Russians, very probably, was that the acknowledgment of their having been the incendiaries of Moscow would be quoted by enlightened Europe as an evidence of their want of civilisation: a most mistaken idea. It is surprising, however, after first impressions must have lost their force by the universal proclamation of the burning of Moscow as a deed of the most sublime patriotism, that the Russians did not frankly avow that this city was sacrificed by imperial mandate. But having once openly denied the act, and furiously denounced the French as the incendiaries, it would be difficult to retract their statements without losing credit for veracity. Besides, by still holding out the same opinions, the government and the nobles long continued to have complete domination over the minds of the peasantry.

From a variety of circumstances, I ventured to make the following prediction, which has been fulfilled much sooner than I expected. "The time, I doubt not, is not far distant when the Russians will claim the merit of having offered up Moscow

for the general good; and then, perhaps, the world will be less inclined to laud the northern nation."* But I shall now direct the reader to Boutourlin's observations.

Some months before the war, Count Rostopchín had been nominated Governor-general of Moscow. During the whole course of the campaign he had succeeded in repressing the *tumultuous movements of the populace*, whom the misfortunes of war plunged into despair. Less a military man than a zealous citizen, he had believed in the possibility of defending the town, step by step, and took all necessary measures to excite the generous desire of seconding the efforts of the army. The resolution of Prince Kutúsof to evacuate Moscow was a thunderstroke to his patriotism. But even at this moment he did not neglect the only means that was left to him of serving his country. Unable to do any thing more for the safety of the city, he determined *à utiliser sa perte, en la ruinant de fond en comble.* This project, worthy of a Scævola, was ably executed. While the Russian troops were in the city, fire could not be set to it without embarrassing their retreat; but combustibles were placed in many houses, and a troop of paid incendiaries was spread throughout Moscow, directed by some officers of the old police, who remained there in disguise. Count Rostopchín had even

* Vide Character of the Russians, p. 503—523.

taken the precaution to carry off with him all the fire-engines, and other instruments for assisting at fires. These measures had the desired success. On the evening of the 2d (14th) of September, a fire broke out in the Exchange, and on the following day other fires burst forth in different parts of the city, notwithstanding all the efforts of the French to extinguish them. Besides the appointed incendiaries, many individuals set fire to their own houses without having received any order, being inspired with rage against the enemy. The fire continued, and nine-tenths of the city were consumed, and the rest was abandoned to pillage.

A few months before the appearance of Boutourlin's work, Count Rostopchín published a pamphlet at Paris, under the title, *La Vérité sur l'Incendie de Moscou*, the grand object of which was to exonerate himself from the *shame*, or rather the *glory*, of having caused Moscow to be burned. The reader, therefore, may be justly surprised why Col. Boutourlin has given so manifest a contradiction to the Count's statements, as that above related. But he explains the business. His account of the burning of Moscow had been communicated to Count Rostopchín, who had desired to see it. "The Count," says Boutourlin, "does not always appear to have been inclined *à dire la vérité;* for he returned the memoirs without having made the least objection to them. After this, how could it be foreseen, that ten years later, he would take a dif-

ferent view of things, and judged it *à propos* to publish *cette vérité*. It would be very unpolite not to believe a man, who, *par une généreuse mais tardive sincérité, se dépouille lui-même de la couronne civique pour se rejeter dans la foule :* while, on the other hand, the most positive information, does not permit the author to doubt *que l'incendie de Moscou n'ait été préparé et éxecuté* by the Russian authorities. There remains no other manner *de concilier des versions si différentes*, except that of supposing that Count Rostopchín, at that epoch, had under his orders, *quelque personnage à grand caractère qui agissait à son insçu.*" The Colonel, adhering to this opinion, has not deemed it necessary to change his text as the facts are recounted with accuracy. He warns his readers that they ought to attribute to the *person in question*, the eulogies so unjustly lavished upon Count Rostopchín.

Boutourlin's account of the burning of Moscow, assuredly exonerates Count Rostopchín from all responsibility, and shows that his conduct was consistent with his declarations, both at the time and since that event, and also with his extraordinary proclamations, one of which I have translated. * But how shall we reconcile the *rescripts* of the Emperor Alexander, which he addressed to Count Rostopchín, and in which he evidently insinuates *that the French burned Moscow, with the avowal of*

* Vide Character of the Russians, &c., p. 509.

that deed by the Russians, and especially with one of them, in which he calls the French "*the despicable incendiaries.*"* The Emperor may plead that this expression was applicable to the French, as a few of them really merited that character, and, as a part of the palace of the Kremle was set on fire by them before their retreat from Moscow. But, in that case, the attempt at the delusion of the Russians, and of the world, is ignoble, and inconsistent with our ideas of sovereignty.

Again, what faith shall we have in the Russian authors, who have written volume after volume to prove that Moscow was burned by the French, or, in the report of Count Rostopchín, who, while he decidedly states that he was not the grand incendiary, employs many pages for the same purpose? Could he be ignorant of the preparations of the *grand personnage* who planned, and who executed, so glorious a deed? With an immense military police under his command, and at a time when every affair, every motion of consequence was communicated to him by spies, is it possible, for a moment, to believe in his ignorance of such an important transaction? And, after the city was consumed, did he not know that the Russians themselves were the incendiaries? I solemnly believe he did. Though the veil is at length rent, and the avowal of the burning of Moscow by the

* Vide Character of the Russians, p. 513.

Russians is made by the aide-de-camp of the Emperor Alexander, and doubtless with the concurrence of that sovereign, yet a cloud of mystery still hangs over the identity of the *personnage à grand caractère*, who was under Rostopchín's orders, but acted without his knowledge: *i. e.* who was the *grand incendiary* of Moscow. Before *ten years revolve* the world may be favoured with the name of the heroic individual. In the mean time I will venture to question whether the *personnage* was not the Emperor Alexander, who may have employed an agent to fulfil his commission, or Kutúsof, who wisely thought the safety of the army, at such a juncture, of more importance than that of the capital.

Boutourlin is of opinion, that, under every point of view, the destruction of Moscow was a most advantageous event for Russia. By it Napoleon was deprived of the resources which he had hoped to find there; besides, the capital once destroyed, no pusillanimous proposal was admissible. Those who, in order to preserve the riches of Moscow, might have been inclined for peace, rendered desperate by their loss, could only think of vengeance. The voluntary destruction of Moscow demonstrated *the energy of a government determined on all sacrifices* rather than bend to a shameful yoke. That action, while it restored the courage of the Russians, depressed that of the enemy. Napoleon, by directing all his efforts against Moscow, *croyait*

frapper au cœur la Russie, which he already thought was prostrated by the capture of her ancient capital. What must have been his alarm when he saw that the Russians only considered it as a great mass of stones, with which the destiny of Russia was unconnected, and that they prepared for war with more ardour than ever? Then he ought to have foreseen the tragic development of his enterprise.

Moscow not having commenced burning till after the entrance of the French, it was easy to persuade the vulgar that it was the enemy who had set their capital on fire.* This opinion, while it exasperated the country people, gave a distinct national character to the war which blazed in the rear of the French army.

It seems quite obvious, now, that self-preservation was the cause of the *double conduct* of the Russian crown, of the Russian functionaries, and of the Russian authors, with respect to the awful conflagration in question, and the deed is one of the strongest proofs, that such a vice is characteristic of the nation. The retreat of the Russian army by the Kolómna road, and subsequently its march by that of Kalúga, in the rear of the French army, have been called *sublime manœuvres;* and Colonel Boutourlin says, that they ensured the safety of Russia, by preparing inevitable ruin for

* Compare p. 392.

the still formidable legions of the Emperor of the French.

I agree with the Colonel, that the burning of Moscow was a sad affair for the French army, even contrary to the representation of some of its officers with whom I have held conversations. But there also seems little doubt, that Napoleon's impolitic conduct, and the death-cold of the North, gained a victory for the Russians which they themselves would never have won.

CHAP. XXIII.

ROSTOPCHÍN'S CONDUCT BEFORE THE BURNING OF MOSCOW. — PROBABILITY OF AN INSURRECTION OF ITS INHABITANTS. — BOUTOURLIN'S CONCLUSIONS RESPECTING THE CAMPAIGN OF 1812.—CONDUCT OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER.—OF PRINCE KUTÚSOF.—OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY.—OF ITS OFFICERS. — OF GENERAL TOLL. — REPORTED PLAN OF THE RUSSIANS FALSE. — BOUTOURLIN'S PATRIOTISM. — ALARM AT THE POWER OF RUSSIA. — INVASION OF RUSSIA IN 1812. — SIR R. WILSON'S OPINION WITH RESPECT TO THE POWER OF RUSSIA.—OPINION OF BUONAPARTE.—OF MR. LACK SCZYRMA.—OF M. DE PRADT.—OF COUNT ROSTOPCHÍN.—OF M. DUPIN.—OF AN ANONYMOUS WRITER.—OF COLONEL BOUTOURLIN. — OF THE PERIODICAL PRESS. — OF THE AUTHOR. — RUSSIA ACCESSIBLE, VULNERABLE, AND EVEN CONQUERABLE. — POWER AND POLICY OF GREAT BRITAIN. — EUROPE NEED NOT BE ALARMED BY RUSSIA.—STATE OF GREAT BRITAIN. — RUSSIA REQUIRES TO BE WATCHED.—COMPOSITION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE. — HER

TROOPS.—HER OVER-ACTION.—PROBABLE FATE OF RUSSIA.—RUSSIA THE BUG-BEAR OF EUROPE.—THE EMPEROR PAUL.—THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER.—THE GREAT DUKES.—THE EMPRESS.—THE DOWAGER EMPRESS.—ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE CHARACTER OF THE RUSSIANS.—THEIR RELIGION.—ANECDOTES.—CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF RUSSIA.—NEW ORGANISATION.—OPPRESSION OF THE POLICE.—SOLDIERS' QUARTERS.—RANKS AND TITLES OF THE RUSSIANS.—NOBLES.—CLERGY.—MERCHANTS.—PEASANTS.—ANECDOTES.—RUSSIAN TABLES.—CLIMATE OF RUSSIA.—ICE-PALACE.—ICE-DOLPHINS, CANNON, AND MORTARS, &c.—IMPROVEMENTS AT MOSCOW.

We have had so many contradictory accounts of Rostopchín's motives and conduct before the conflagration of Moscow in 1812, that it is but fair to allow him to explain himself.

"I had," says he, "two objects in view, on which I depended for the destruction of the French army,—to maintain the tranquillity of Moscow, and to cause the inhabitants to depart from it. I succeeded beyond my hopes. A calm was maintained to the very moment of the entry of the enemy; and, of 240,000 inhabitants, there only remained 12,000 or 15,000, who were either burgesses or strangers, or common people; but no person of distinction, either among the nobility, the clergy. or the merchants. The senate, the tribunals, all persons in office, had left the town some days before its occupation by the enemy. I had wished to prevent the possibility of Napoleon's forming any connections between Moscow and the interior

of the empire, and of using the influence which the French have acquired in Europe by their *littérature, modes, cuisine, et langue.* By these means one might have produced *un rapprochement* with the Russians, one might have obtained confidence, and subsequently have exacted services; but, in the middle of the people who remained at Moscow, seduction was as much without effect as among the deaf and dumb." *

I am not aware of the authority upon which Sir R. Wilson makes the following assertion, but I should think it was not made at random :— "There is no doubt of the fact," says he, "that a servile war might have been fermented in Russia, if the discipline of Napoleon's heterogeneous army could have been maintained, so as to have avoided outrages and insults, which exasperated and shocked religious prejudices; nor is it less true, that notwithstanding these alienating causes, Napoleon rejected offers of insurrection which were made to him when in Moscow."

Indeed all those statements, even by the Russians, which preserve any degree of candour, seem to admit the probability of an insurrection among the people, a point which I have illustrated at length in The Character of the Russians.

The concluding remarks of Boutourlin's volumes are so interesting, both with respect to the past,

* La Vérité sur l'Incendie, p. 20.

the present, and the future, that I shall introduce a translation of them, for the benefit of the reader.

"This campaign," says he, "so memorable *par l'étonnante consommation* of men which it occasioned, will be reckoned by posterity a terrible example of the danger *de s'écarter à la guerre des règles prescrites par une saine théorie.* Indeed, the triumph of true principles never appeared more striking than on this occasion. Napoleon, at Moscow, presents the interesting sight of a great captain, who, at the head of an innumerable army, has fulfilled the *but militaire* which he had proposed in commencing hostilities, but who is about to lose all that army because he has neglected or disdained *le grand principe de la base,* which alone can insure the operations, consolidate conquests, and *utilise* the success obtained in the field of battle. This single fault was the cause of the failure of an enterprise conceived by *one of the greatest military geniuses who has ever existed,* and sustained by gigantic means which were supplied by the co-operation of a great part of Europe. Russia worthily supported so painful a struggle. The nation demonstrated *toute sa grandeur,* by anticipating the sacrifices which the urgency of the circumstances demanded. At the sight of the country in danger, all individual interest, all jealousy *de castes,* were destroyed; and all ranks, rivalling each other in devotedness, united around the throne. The whole nation, animated with the

same spirit, had no other thought but that of hastening the expulsion of the stranger. The cry of national honour resounded in every heart, and dictated every resolution. All ranks, from the most opulent lord to the poorest labourer, hastened, with emulation, to offer their effects and their blood at the altar of their country. The government was even obliged to limit the sacrifices, which, in the fervour of their zeal, the citizens proposed, as they exceeded the wants of the state.

" But to the Emperor Alexander principally belongs the glory *de cette belle campagne.* Those who have meditated upon the great lessons which history presents, know, that in all important events, one discovers *une cause principale et dominante,* whose decisive influence is felt throughout the progress of affairs. Accidental and accessory causes may hasten or retard the development, but they cannot change it; for it is always regulated in the last result by the principal cause. The events of 1812 had, for their principal cause, the bold and magnanimous resolution of the Emperor Alexander, to continue the war to the last extremity, without being intimidated by reverses however great, or seduced by the propositions of the enemy, however advantageous." This resolution is expressed in these terms, in a letter from the Emperor to Marshal Sóltikof: "*Je ne poserai pas les armes tant qu'un seul guerrier ennemi restera sur le territoire de mon empire.*" " Me-

morable words," says Boutourlin, "which demonstrate the noble confidence of the monarch in his people; and which, even then, foretold the happy termination of the war; as it contained all the secret of the great advantages gained by the Russians. Indeed, when the Emperor of Russia adopted the generous resolution of resigning himself to all sacrifices, rather than capitulate with the enemy, *la guerre d'invasion* which Napoleon directed *contre un pays sans fond*, became an absurd enterprise, and its success impossible." This remark of Boutourlin's is quite consonant with the following by Sir R. Wilson:

"Alexander, during this crisis, had displayed a degree of firmness which deranged all the calculations of Napoleon and his coadjutors. He pledged himself as a sovereign, and a man, that he would never treat with Napoleon whilst there was an armed enemy in his country; and his inflexible firmness rendered nugatory those attempts at negotiation, which are reported not to have received the same discouragement in other quarters."

"The man who, after the Emperor, merits most from his country," says Boutourlin, "is Prince Kutúsof. Russia owes her quick deliverance to the profound and constant wisdom of his conduct. Unluckily, there exist among us, men so ungrateful, or so prejudiced, that they wish to deprive his memory of the just homage of a grateful country, but their efforts will be vain. The conduct of the

marshal was *si belle*, that it will bear the research of the most severe critics. In fact, in a military point of view, he can only be reproached with two faults; the first, that of having given battle at Borodíno, though necessitated by POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE: the second, the retrograde motion from Maloyaroslávets to Gontchérovo, which no motive can justify. But one may salute *du nom de grand* the general, who, in four months of the most active campaign, only failed once. Besides, in compensation for this fault, *que de belles conceptions*, of which a single one would be sufficient to establish the reputation of a captain. The march from the Kolómna road to that of Kalúga *, that from Tarútino to Maloyaroslávets, the parallel pursuit, the march from Jelnia to Krasnoi, and the sagacious combinations of the battles of Krasnoi, will always be the admiration of connoisseurs." —Immortality, *a déjà commencé pour son nom*,

* As has been already remarked (vide p. 388.), the motions of Kutúsof in the neighbourhood of the ancient capital have been highly extolled, yet Sir R. Wilson says, that after the capture of Moscow, for twelve days, the Russian army was revolving round the smoking ruins of their capital, to regain the Kalúga road, "disconnected in line of march, embarrassed with every possible encumbrance, and checked by every species of impediment: in this situation, the columns presented a *flank* to the concentrated French army, and offered them an infallible victory." A Sketch of the Military and Political Power of Russia, p. 27.

and impartial posterity will not fail to place him, for the services rendered to his country, at the side of Pojárskii; and for his military talents, at that of Suvárof.

Colonel Boutourlin, after so many eulogies in favour of Alexander and Kutúsof, next alludes to the devotion of the army, and the zeal of its chiefs, who seconded his efforts, and distinguished themselves in 1812, as Raévskoï, Konovnítsin, Yermólof, the Prince of Wurtemburgh, Count Pahlen, Vassíltchikof, Count Voróntsof, Rosen, Dibitch, Paskévitch, Tchérnitchef, and Emmanuel. With great candour, the author likewise speaks in the highest terms of the Quartermaster-general, Toll, whose name bespeaks his foreign origin. During the campaign, this distinguished man, by his sagacity and his talents, was *l'ame de toutes les délibérations, et le moteur de plusieurs belles résolutions adoptées* by Marshal Kutúsof.

To the supposition that a plan of drawing the enemy into the heart of Russia was premeditated by the government, Boutourlin replies, that the retreat from the Niemen to Moscow was necessitated by the numerical weakness of the Russian armies. He then adds, "Those who hold this language, ought to know, that the glory of Russia has no want of being exalted by artifice and lies. The year 1812 was the touchstone that discovered the treasures which our country *renferme dans sa sein*, and our nephews will always quote this me-

morable epoch of the history of their country with pride. A true relation of facts is sufficient to immortalise them."

Boutourlin terminates his reflections upon the campaign of 1812, in these patriotic phrases:—"It only remains for him, (the author,) to wish that his country may receive the fruits of the exploits of her warriors. May Russia find in the crisis she has experienced, and which the devotion of her sons has rendered so salutary, an inexhaustible source of prosperity! May she enter the glorious path directed towards the high destiny which Heaven has so visibly reserved for her! May her power—the terror of the oppressor and the refuge of the oppressed,—increase and be consolidated for the maintenance of good order and of justice! May the God of Kulikóvo *, and of Poltáva, who also assisted her so miraculously in the late struggle, for ever grant her the protection of his potent arm! Already *l'étranger reconnait avec effroi l'inaccessibilité* of her vast frontiers. Henceforth

* By a letter, dated Petersbugh, November 14, 1824, we learn that "The Emperor has approved of a plan laid before him by General Balaskóf, to form an asylum for a certain number of wounded soldiers, near a monument which is to be erected on the plain of Kulikóvo, to the Grand Duke Dmitrii Donskoi. A subscription through the whole empire is to be opened for this national establishment. The Emperor has assigned 20,000 roubles for the purpose. The General is to agree with the Academy of St. Petersbugh respecting the plan and elevation of the church and the houses intended for the soldiers."

no enemy will dare to pass them. Her citizens may search after (*exploiter*) the treasures of a nascent industry with security, and enjoy in peace the meliorations which the progress of knowledge and the benevolent march of time prepare for them."

Similar ideas had been previously developed by Sir R. Wilson.

"The advantage," says he, "of this campaign to Russia, was proportionably great to the injury designed by her enemy. Her capital had been consumed, many of her provinces had been laid waste, and above two hundred thousand of her regular soldiery had perished; but to have developed the resources of the empire, to have electrified the spirit of the people, were copious and lasting compensations for evils which time and industry would repair." *

By some we are alarmed with the colossal and irresistible army of Russia overwhelming Europe, becoming masters of Constantinople, taking possession of Persia, and subsequently of India, and thus accomplishing the ruin of the British isles. By others we are lulled to repose, and told that there is no cause of anxiety, and far less of fear, from the Imperial forces of the north. Probably a middle opinion between these two extremes would be the most correct, and at all events would be the

* A Sketch of the Military and Political Power of Russia, p. 35.

safest. We should neither give ear to false alarms, nor let danger unexpectedly approach; or, I should rather say, nor permit Russia quietly to aggrandise herself by further acts of aggression upon her neighbours.

Before the year 1812, it was confidently believed by some, that Russia, from her geographical position, her physical advantages, and with an effective army of almost half a million of men, would have defied the efforts of any invader which Europe could bring against her, and France was deemed incapable of such a deed. Though Buonaparte lost his army, and was ruined in 1812–13, yet his advance to Moscow demonstrated that Russia was *accessible* and *vulnerable;* and, as has already been mentioned, but for the unaccountable neglect of Buonaparte, after he got possession of that city, he might have totally defeated the Russian army, and given a new turn to his affairs.* There can be no doubt that Napoleon's retreat and ruin were chiefly owing to his own imprudence, and to the ravages of the climate; but the exposure of his army to the rigours of a severe winter, was a consequence of unwarrantable conduct. This chieftain attempted the work of two or three years in one season. Had he proceeded with caution, and taken proper measures to obtain the good will, instead of the hatred of the people, few seem to

* Vide Note, p. 396. of this Volume.

doubt that he would have conquered Russia; or, at all events, have reduced her government to advantageous, if not to unconditional terms. Notwithstanding these facts, a great number of celebrated characters delight in holding up Russia *in terrorem* to the other states of Europe, and even to Great Britain, as I shall illustrate by some quotations.

In 1818, Sir R. Wilson wishes to establish one of his former positions, that "Russia, profiting by the events which have afflicted Europe, has not only raised her ascendancy on natural sources sufficient to maintain a preponderating power; but, further, that she has been presented by her rivals with the sceptre of universal dominion." *

If we could give the smallest belief to the following remarks, Buonaparte, after his fall, also seems to have regarded Russia as likely to become an overwhelming power. "The Emperor," says Las Cases, "next adverted to the superiority of Russia over the rest of Europe, in regard to the immense powers she might call up for the purpose of invasion, together with the physical advantages of her situation under the pole, and backed by *eternal bulwarks* of ice, which, in case of need, would render her inaccessible. Russia, he said, could only be attacked during one third or one fourth of the year; while, on the contrary, she

* Sketch of the Military and Political Power of Russia in the year 1817. Preface, p. vii.

might throughout the whole twelve months maintain attacks upon us: her assailants would encounter the rigours and privations of a frigid climate, and a barren soil, while her troops, pouring down upon us, would enjoy the fertility and charms of our southern region. To these physical circumstances," continued the Emperor, "may be added the advantage of an immense population, brave, hardy, devoted, and passive, including those numerous uncivilised hordes, to whom privation and wandering are the natural state of existence. Who can avoid shuddering," said he, "at the thought of such a vast mass, unassailable either on the flanks or in the rear, descending upon us with impunity; if triumphant, overwhelming every thing in its course, or, if defeated, retiring amidst the cold and desolation that may be called its forces of reserve, and possessing every facility of issuing forth again at a future opportunity? Is not this the head of the hydra, the Antæus of fable, which can only be subdued by seizing it bodily, and stifling it in the embryo. But where is the Hercules to be found? France alone could think of such an achievement; and, it must be confessed, we made but an awkward attempt at it." *

* I scarcely give faith to the report that Buonaparte preached the *inaccessibility* of Russia. I should rather suppose, after the lessons for which he paid so dearly, he would have maintained, *cæteris paribus*, that he would have conquered European Russia.

"The Emperor," the author continues, "was of opinion, that, in the new political combination of Europe, the fate of that portion of the world depended entirely on the capacity and disposition of a single man. Should there arise," said he, "an Emperor of Russia, valiant, impetuous, and intelligent, — in a word, a Czar, with a beard on his chin, (this he pronounced very emphatically,) Europe is his own. He may commence his operations on the German territory at 100 leagues from the two capitals, Berlin and Vienna, whose sovereigns are his only obstacles. He secures the alliance of the one by force, and with his aid subdues the other, by a single stroke. He then finds himself in the heart of Germany, amidst the princes of the second rank, most of whom are either his relations or dependants. In the mean while he may, should he think it necessary, throw a few firebrands across the Alps, on the soil of Italy, ripe for explosion, and he may then march triumphantly to Paris to proclaim himself the new liberator. I know, if I were in such a situation, I would undertake to reach Calais in a given time, and by regular marching stations, there to become the master and arbiter of Europe." *

"After leaving the bath," says O'Meara, "Napoleon spoke about Russia, and said that the European nations would yet find that *he* had adopted

* Mémorial de Saint Hélène, vol. iv. part 7. p. 86—89.

the best possible policy at the time he had intended to re-establish the kingdom of Poland, which would be the only effectual means of stopping the increasing power of Russia. It was putting a barrier, a dyke to that formidable empire, which it was likely would yet overwhelm Europe. I do not think," said he, " that I shall live to see it, but you may, you are in the flower of your age, and may expect to live thirty-five years longer. I think that you will see that the Russians will either invade and take India, or enter Europe with four hundred thousand Cossacs, and other inhabitants of the deserts, and two hundred thousand real Russians. Russia must either fall or aggrandise herself, and it is natural to suppose that the latter will take place. By invading other countries, Russia has two points to gain, an increase of civilization and polish, by *rubbing against* other powers, the acquisition of money, and the rendering friends to herself the inhabitants of the deserts, with whom some years back she was at war." *

" Those who consented," said Buonaparte, " to the union of Poland with Russia, will be the execration of posterity, while my name will be pronounced with respect, when the fine southern countries of Europe are a prey to the barbarians of the North." †

* O'Meara's Napoleon in Exile, vol. ii. p. 53, 54.
† Ibid. vol. i. p. 406.

Mr. Lack Sczyrma, in his Letters on Poland, with a good deal of patriotic feeling, informs us that "the annals of all foreign nations which had ever dared to attack any of those people (the Scythians, or their successors in territory, at least, if not their ancestors, the Poles and Russians,) are written in characters of blood. The Tartar barbarians, having laid waste with fire and sword the Polish provinces, found their graves at Lignitz in 1241. The Turkish hordes sent by Bajazet in 1498 from Asia and Africa, and who threatened to overrun Christendom, met their fatal day by frost and famine at the sources of the Dneister. In 1709, the whole Swedish army under Charles XII. was destroyed in the morasses of Pultava. In our time, the whole tract of land from Moscow to the river Elbe, the remotest boundary of the Sclavonian settlements, and beyond those, has been fattened with the blood of those who had the boldness to assail the altars of the domestic gods of Sclavonia; and the children now play with the weather-beaten unburied bones of these foreign invaders — a sight shocking to humanity, and a warning to posterity." *

M. de Pradt, after telling us, of the facility with which Russia will be able to enter Germany, that in time the Vistula, *dans tout son cours*, will become the frontier of Russia, and that Russia *n'a*

* Letters on Poland, p. 72, 73.

donc pour voisins que des politiques effrayés et des vassaux tremblans, proceeds thus, in his flowery and figurative style, " Russia is defended by her climate, by her remoteness from the rest of the world; *elle a pour elle l'espace et le tems : chez elle on arrive fatigué aux pieds d'un rampart de glaces.* The shades of Charles XII. and Napoleon wander before her frontiers, as spectres charged to remind the temerarious of the fate which awaits them in these sad countries; *terrible privilége dont la nature l'a dotée*; we can never go to her to cause the evil which at all times she can come to inflict. Say, in what number, at what time, and upon what points, you will go to strike her. The spaces are so vast, that the greatest army, the most formidable for talents and bravery, that of Napoleon, *finit par ne ressembler sur la carte de la Russie, qu'à une traîne de fourmis gravissant une montagne.* A small army can do nothing against Russia; a great one cannot subsist. The extent of territory admits of turning the wings of the assailants, of cutting off their communications; provisions are wanting, their transport is difficult; one finds himself among seas of sand; interminable forests of pines blacken the horizon; a savage population flies or arms itself at the sight of a stranger. Manners, language, food, all differ from Europe: it is another universe; a tardy spring *touche à un hiver précoce;* the few months convenient for action are consumed in approaching the frontiers, and when reached,

l'aiguillon des aquilons soon comes to benumb the arms of the assailants and to bury *les travaux de la campagne*, under the mountains of snow. *Les frimas, vengeurs de la Russie, plongent dans un sommeil de glace:* all is extinguished, all expires under the merciless sky. Such is a war against Russia. See if by nature she is not declared *inattackable, inapproachable*, if she does not always present open graves for her enemies." *

"The Russians," says Count Rostopchín, "have proved themselves superior to many other people, because they are inaccessible to fear, and incapable of treason, *il porte dans son énergie morale, et dans sa force physique, la conviction de succès.*" †

That distinguished and eminent writer, Mr. Dupin, asserts that "the troops of Russia are not only formidable by their number, they are so by valour, by impetuosity in the attack, and by obstinate firmness on the retreat.—In admitting *the incontestable power of Russia to defend her own territory*, her aggressive power is disputed." ‡

An anonymous writer, for whose opinion on many points I have a high respect, says, "there is another awful consideration: Russia is inaccessible,

* Parallèle de la Puissance Anglaise et Russe relativement à l'Europe, &c. Paris, 1823.

† La Vérité sur l'Incendie de Moscou, p. 43.

‡ Observations sur la Puissance de l'Angleterre et sur celle de la Russie, au sujet du parallèle établi par M. de Pradt entre ces Puissances. Paris, 1824.

unattackable. Frosts and snows, and the terrible host of winter, make her *unconquerable.* Her frontiers are mountains and seas. Her power neither results from the number of her inhabitants, nor from her pecuniary resources, nor from the talents of her rulers, nor from the extent of her territory; but from her snowy and icy region, which, though it is a wall of adamant against attack, she cannot drag with her to the south for the purpose of attacking others."

In unison with these opinions, Boutourlin says, as already mentioned, that the stranger, with alarm, acknowledges the *inaccessibility* of the frontiers of Russia.

In justice to the periodical press, it ought to be mentioned that many individuals have espoused a very different opinion with respect to the immense power and preponderance of Russia.

Notwithstanding what Sir R. Wilson enthusiastically tells us of Russia being presented by her rivals *with the sceptre of universal dominion;* notwithstanding *the physical advantages of the situation of Russia, backed by eternal bulwarks of ice, which render her inaccessible, and the cold and desolation* which seem to have alarmed Buonaparte; notwithstanding that *the annals of all foreign nations who have attacked the Sclavonic nations are written in characters of blood,* according to Mr. Lack Sczyrma; notwithstanding what the specious, flowery, and acute, rather than profound, Abbé de Pradt

talks of *the geographical position, the climate, the rampart de glaces, the spectres of Charles XII. and of Napoleon, the snow mountains and the hoar-frosts;* notwithstanding that Rostopchín tells that *the Russians are inaccessible to fear, and incapable of treason;* notwithstanding that Mons. Dupin maintains the *incontestable power of Russia to defend her own territory;* notwithstanding *the formidable power, the frosts and snows, and icy regions, the wall of adamant, and the terrible host of winter* of the Westminster Review; and notwithstanding that Boutourlin also holds forth the *inaccessibility of the frontiers of Russia,* in my humble opinion *Russia is accessible, vulnerable, and even her best provinces conquerable,* by a proper and cautious method of procedure, and by a smaller army than Napoleon had when he invaded this country and took possession of Moscow. But as Great Britain, as well as the Continental nations, is at peace with Russia, and as I am not anxious to kindle the torch of war, at present I could merely wish to inspire the nations of Europe with the hope of being able to resist her *apparently colossal* power and even to retaliate her future aggressions. Is not Great Britain, leagued with any two of the great Continental powers, and proceeding upon a well-organised plan, able to resist any invasion of Russia, and even to enter on an offensive war? Is it not in the friendship and policy of Great Britain that Commensurate opposition to the plans of Russia can

alone be found? As for conquering all Russia, it is out of the question. No power on earth would ever dream of such a measure, because the greatest part of her territory is not worth conquering. Who would follow her to Siberia, or what power would wish to possess that extensive country? The best provinces of Russia being seized, her fleets being destroyed or blocked up, a powerful navy being in command of the Gulph of Finland, and another in the Black Sea, and the Sea of Azoph; Petersburgh, and the ports of these seas being threatened with destruction or capture, would not Russia be reduced to advantageous, if not to unconditional terms?

With respect to the invasion of Europe, alluded to in some of the above quotations, and so powerfully expressed in those words of M. de Pradt, "*La population de l'Angleterre ne peut croître de manière à peser sur l'Europe: celle de la Russie peut l'écraser:* a good deal may be said. Mr. Dupin states, that "in conceding to M. de Pradt, that England alone cannot make war against Russia, and still less against the Holy Alliance, it ought to be admitted at the same time, that this author too greatly diminishes the influence of Great Britain as a military force, and as a naval force in the Black Sea and in the Baltic. For the future, he also allows by far too little influence to the finances of England, for the formation *des résistances* destined to combat the future projects of Russia. Beyond doubt, a subsidy will not

cause a secondary power to enter, without a motive, into a struggle against so formidable an empire. But, when this same empire shall menace one of these powers, England can furnish subsidies which will enable it to commence a vigorous resistance without delay; and will procure it allies from all parts, by giving them the only resources which are often wanting to enter into a struggle, the interests and passions of which they had already espoused."

Taking into account the immense territory of Russia; — her greatly increased and increasing population; — her rapid advancement in general knowledge and civilisation; — her powerful influence in the cabinets of Europe; — her colossal army and the talents of its chiefs; — her improvement in military tactics; — the excellent state of her cannon-foundries, her arm manufactories and military stores; — her new system of military colonisation; — in a word, her abundance of all the materials of war, *with the grand exception of money;* — and her apparent destiny of becoming a mighty nation, even with a greatly reduced territory, I should suppose that Europe need not be greatly intimidated by the reveries of the *Alarmists* about her aggressive power, invasion, and annihilation. And I should also think, that Great Britain may repose on her pinnacle of superiority, as long as she is distinguished for civil and religious liberty, arts and sciences, commerce and riches, virtue and religion. With these for *her internal, and wooden*

walls for her external bulwarks, "the gates of hell shall not prevail against her." The courts of Europe, indeed, must decide, and upon their decision and action it depends, whether Russia shall become more formidable or not.

Nothing can be more consolatory to the British patriot, than the following assurance from one of the greatest of statesmen. "With respect to the situation in which we stand, I mean as England stands to Europe, I neither court nor assume the praises lavished by the honourable seconder of the address (Mr. Daly), while I equally regret the censure of the honourable and learned member (Mr. Brougham). England, I may say, is now able to meet any enemy, as much, perhaps, or more so, than she ever was; her opinions are as much respected as they ever were; her interference as much courted, and her influence as high and as commanding as at any former period of her history. I will not say England is now, in every particular, in the same state she was in other times. Her state, like that of all other nations, has altered; the qualities and elements of all society have changed, and we must in some degree change with them. — If we did commune and act with them (despotic monarchs) let us only look back for ten years, and we shall see, that if we were not leagued with despots, if despots they must be called, we never had been able to over-ride that colossus of

tyrants; who, as it were, united all others in himself." *

Thanks to Heaven, in these momentous times, that there are now at the helm of our own affairs, those who are pre-eminent for penetration, sagacity, prudence, and liberality of sentiment; those who may be able to prevent or to discomfit the schemes of insatiate ambition and oppression; and who, if forced to the measure, will know when and where to send forth the "trident upon the ocean," or to hurl "the thunderbolts of war!" That their policy and wisdom, however, may lead to the evasion of such alternatives, consistently with British valour, British honour, and British independence, must be the wish of every friend of the human race.

Let us calmly look upon the real state of Russia. Beyond doubt, this power is neither to be disregarded nor despised. She is to be watched, because she may become dangerous; but the infatuation of the Continental powers alone, will permit her to gain another inch of territory, or to acquire the least additional political power. The Russian army, which amounts to nearly 1,000,000 of men, is commanded by many eminent captains, and, in the hands of even the mildest and least ambitious despot, is a mighty machine, and is not to be trifled with as a mere mass of physical force.

* Vide Mr. Canning's Speech on the opening of Parliament, February 3d, 1824.

It must not be forgotten, that this army had immense practice in the art of war during the last campaigns; nor that the Emperor Alexander has devoted the utmost attention to its improvement ever since the peace. It is also to be borne in mind, that the officers of the higher ranks have received a moderately good education; and have, in a considerable degree, assimilated themselves with those of the other armies of Europe.

In our reasonings with respect to the political state, the probable policy, and the expected military operations of Russia, it must ever be recollected, that this empire is composed of the most heterogeneous materials; that *Russia Proper* is surrounded by territories which have once been independent kingdoms, or wrested from other states; as Kazán, Astrachán, Siberia, the Kubán, Mount Caucasus, Georgia, the Persian provinces, the Krimea, the Baltic provinces, but especially Finland, Poland, and the Turkish provinces. It must also be remembered, that the greatest part of these adventitious territories have been retained under the rule of the Imperial eagle by the presence of over-awing armies, and by mild, tolerant, and crafty policy; and it is believed, also, by bribery. It must be recollected that most of these countries, if not absolutely ready for revolt, are by no means heartily attached to Russia; and would readily risk all to recover their former state when the tocsin sounded to arms, and in-

dependence was the object. Are not the Poles, the Krimean Tartars, the mountain-tribes of the Caucasus, some of the Georgians, the Persians, and the Turks, amongst the number who would join any party, had they the prospect of regaining their ancient territories and privileges, disturb the peace of Russia, and commit acts of aggression? Another consideration ought never to be forgotten; viz. that in proportion as Russia has extended, or may extend her dominions, she augments the number of her foreign forces, and renders necessary a wider division of her native troops; so that when a revolution takes place, so much the greater are the chances of a complete disorganisation of the whole empire. In fact, Russia is surrounded by enemies, under the name of conquered friends; and dreadful will be the explosion, which, sooner or later, according to the course of human affairs, may be expected to overwhelm this immense empire.

Russia has, probably, reached the zenith of her glory, unless her ambitious plans be laid aside. She is arrived at that pinnacle of pre-eminence, in so far as respects territory and political power, from which she is likely to retrograde, unless she act with extreme prudence and judgment. She has long been under the influence of a strong stimulant, proceeding in a course of ambitious aggrandisement, which has often been accompanied with war and bloodshed; adding province to

province, and kingdom to kingdom. But, like the animal system, she will experience the sedative effects of her over-exertion; which will, probably, end in a deep slumber, of which her neighbours, or some hardy adventurers, may take advantage.

It is not likely that Russia will ever be more formidable than she has proved herself already. We know from late experience, to what her means are equal, in spite of all the defects inherent in her government. She should be watched with care, but not with jealousy; and should the course of events unhappily tend to weaken the ties of amity which at present subsist between Russia and Britain, for their mutual advantage, it is right to bear in mind, as Mr. James observes, "that the dissolution of so mighty a mass, is not, of itself, to be viewed with unconcern; for its fall may involve many others also in destruction, and encumber all Europe with its ruins."

The same writer adds, "In her present circumstances, I cannot suppose that there really exists so great and immoderate a cause for alarm as some speculatists are wont to imagine. Men and money do not constitute national power and wealth; but the efficiency of the one, and the circulation of the other. As matters are now arranged, the internal state of Russia militates, in the strongest way, against the improvement of her means. Oppressed as she is by an autocratical government, —with an all-powerful nobility, —with a half-

digested feudal system, — with an incapacitating spirit of corruption in every branch of administration, — with foreigners in possession of every post of honour or profit, — it is not too much to say, that Russia has reached in the present reign, the highest pinnacle of rank and power, which her circumstances can ever admit her to attain; and should an alteration in her system be contemplated, it is hardly possible, from such a *mélange* of incongruities, to augur that any change should be lasting, or productive, in the end, of consequences really beneficial to herself. The Imperial authority, now all-powerful, will, hereafter, find itself unable to check the influence of knowledge, and sense of partial liberty that daily diffuse themselves more and more throughout the nation. It requires no great foresight to predict the divisions and factions that must alternately arise from the irregular distribution of wealth and power over so enormous an extent of territory; and wheresoever accident shall cast the balance, it will be an easy task of ambition to throw off all dependence on the semi-Russian capital: the storm is now preparing, and every fresh act of aggrandisement brings nearer the hour of dissolution. As to other prospects, and the view in which her preponderating strength may be regarded by her neighbours, it should be remembered that Russia has not hitherto been able to bring into the field an army capable of overwhelming any one of the superior states of Europe;

though supposing that she were, in the existing state of the civilized world, it is not by the inroad of numerous hordes that European independence is threatened, but by the country which shall have advanced to the highest degree of eminence, activity and skill, in arts and in science, in intelligence, in wealth: this superiority alone can ever justly be looked upon with fear; and notwithstanding the laudable efforts they have made, the Russians cannot be said even to approximate to such a state at this epoch. The nation has made great efforts, but there yet remains much to be done."

It has been well said, that Russia, although she is become the Bugbear of Europe, "appears indeed a giant: but it is only a giant of the mist, which passes away before a penetrating vision, or a rising sun."

Before quitting politics, a few paragraphs may be well devoted to the Imperial family, but especially to the Emperor Alexander and his predecessor.

Like all sovereigns, even the most cruel, wicked, and barbarous, Paul had his flatterers during life, and his *good qualities* were best known after his death. In the Russian authors we often meet with the expression, "*Paul of blessed memory;*" and a number of publications bestow panegyrics upon that departed monarch. His life, which may serve as an example, is thus sketched by some of the Russians:—"Paul ascended the throne on the

6th November, 1796. During his reign he ornamented the capital with many magnificent public buildings: in Petersburgh he built the palace of St. Michael, and in Moscow the palaces of the Kremle and the suburbs; he carried military discipline into strict order, according to new regulations; he founded the Medical Academy, and the Medical *Uprávas**, in the government towns; he gave new regulations for the two ecclesiastical academies of St. Alexander Névskii at Petersburgh, and of Kazán, for one of the public schools (Yunkerskoyé,) and for the Military Orphan establishment; he furnished the clergy with new regulations, and was pleased to appoint *orders* and other distinctions for them; he abridged the laws of the government, and *annihilated all causes of delay in the tribunals;* he ordered a box to be placed for the reception of petitions from any individual (but this generosity was but of short duration;) he put the regulations of the post-office into better order; he *gave an asylum, in Russia,* to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and became its grand-master; for the fame of Russia, through Field-marshal Súvarof Rimniskii he carried on war in Italy, and he took Georgia into subjection. He *died* on the 11th March, 1801, in the 47th year of his age, and was buried on the 23d of the same month, in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, at St. Petersburgh."

* Vide p. 360. of Vol. I.

Paul was violent and capricious; but, his enemies say, that "although he wanted judgment to shield his country from injury, he had too exalted a mind ever to have subscribed to her disgrace." "His reign," says Sir R. Wilson, "was too short for the development of the even then exuberant resources of his empire, but it had an important influence on the European branch of Russian policy, by showing that every part of Europe was accessible to armies brought from the Caucasus and Siberia, &c."*

In The Character of the Russians, &c. as well as in this work, I have reported various statements and anecdotes which tend to illustrate the true character of Paul, who with great propriety may be classed among those furious tyrants that, with generous hearts, are always committing foolish actions, and who seem born for the misery of mankind.

However much we may deprecate assassination, it was for the happiness of Russia that Paul's reign was short, and that his acts had but a transient influence. In him she lost a despotic tyrant, and found a mild benevolent monarch, as great a contrast to his father and predecessor as it is possible to imagine. "Alexander came to the throne with strong predilections in his favour. Real personal

* A Sketch of the Military and Political Power of Russia, p. 11.

good qualities had gained the affection of all who approached him; and, as the pupil of La Harpe, expectation was raised high as to his capacity for government. The Telemachus of the North was not then inebriated with power, but, instructed in his duties by a Mentor endowed with intelligence and virtue, exercised the authority of a despotic sovereign to establish philanthropy as the basis of his throne. An enemy to the costly vanities of some of his predecessors, he regulated the expenses of his palaces with economy, and applied his treasures to the foundation of useful establishments, the promotion of useful public works, the equipment of his arsenals, and the augmentation of his army. Temperate, active, and indefatigable, he transacted the business of government through direct correspondence or personal superintendence; and, familiar with the statistics, topography, and interests of the various people inhabiting his extensive empire, he cherished the general prosperity by a polity adapted to the wants of each and all." *

"The personal character of the reigning Emperor is chiefly distinguished by great affability and condescension, which is carried to such a degree, as would be wholly incompatible with his situation, if the government were of any other form than that of an absolute monarchy. Con-

* A Sketch of the Military and Political Power of Russia, p. 18.

sidering the disadvantages of his early life, he must be regarded as one who has, as far as possible, overcome, by natural goodness of temper, those evil habits which circumstances seemed to form for him; and whatever blame some may attach to his caprice, his artfulness, his inflexibility, his vanity, or his gallantry, he nevertheless has great merit; and, indeed, his very faults may be said to be well suited to the part he is destined to sustain, and to the nation whom he governs. Of the Empress, it is sufficient to say, she is adored by all classes." *

It cannot for a moment be contested, even by his enemies, that Alexander is not an excellent sovereign for Russia. Few despots have swayed such a powerful sceptre with equal gentleness and mercy. He shows himself the patron of arts, sciences, literature, and information of every kind: and if, at times, a degree of illiberality or of excess in his measures becomes evident, I should be inclined to attribute it rather to the influence of his counsellors, than to the dictates of his heart. I should also suppose that the ambitious plans of Russia originate elsewhere than with *His Imperial Majesty*. At the same time it must be allowed, that by some he is accused of considerable illiberality, and of unbounded ambition. The solicitude which he manifests for the good of his

* James's Journal, &c. p. 271.

country, and his humanity, deserve the highest encomiums.

As a private character, the most serious charge that can be brought against the Emperor Alexander relates to his affairs of gallantry, which are ever to be regretted for the sake of the Empress. But when we candidly take into account the extremely corrupt court at which he was educated, * — his early marriage, and perhaps not with the object of his choice, — the facilities, nay, the temptations, to desert the path of virtue, by which so young a sovereign was surrounded, — and the extreme jealousy and rigid coolness of the Empress, we must at least think his failings greatly palliated, if not excused. Indeed, all circumstances considered, perhaps not one in a hundred, or in a thousand, would have conducted himself so well as the Emperor Alexander. As his years have increased, so has his wisdom †; and I have been

* "Immorality," said Buonaparte, "is, beyond a doubt, the worst of all faults in a sovereign; because he introduces it as a fashion among his subjects, by whom it is practised for the sake of pleasing him. It strengthens every vice, blights every virtue, and infects all society like a pestilence; in short, it is a nation's scourge." Mémorial de Sainte Hélène, of Count de Las Cases, vol. iv. part 7. p. 20. Yet Alexander was reared at the corrupt court of Catherine, and has become an example for good principles and conduct to the potentates of Europe. He really seems to have been "a chosen vessel."

† Indeed he seems to have said in all sincerity, —

"May I govern my passions with absolute sway,
And grow wiser and better as life wears away!"

assured, that this monarch now shows his regret at the frolics of his youth, by repentance, and the kindest conduct to his Imperial consort, with whom he passes much of his spare time in the evenings. Judging from the past, we may venture to prognosticate much happiness for Russia, if it shall please Providence to prolong Alexander's years. The ardour and inexperience of youthful passion, is replaced by coolness, vigour, and perseverance in a private and public course of virtue. The deeds of his life will entitle him to the gratitude of the living, and his memory will be venerated, not only as the *great*, but as the *good Alexander*.

During the campaign, it cannot be questioned that Alexander was an example to his whole army. His exemplary endurance of privations, cold, hunger, and fatigue, served to animate his troops. His activity and solicitude were equally the theme of praise, while his affability and conciliatory manners gained him all hearts.

The simplicity of manners, and mode of life of Alexander are very exemplary and praise-worthy. He sleeps upon a hard mattress, whether in the palace or in the camp; he rises early, lives very moderately, is almost never even merry with wine, employs much time in public affairs, and is indefatigable in his labours. His chief amusement, if such it may be called, seems to be the organisation and discipline of the army.

From all that I have heard, it appears that he is

extremely firm, and even obstinate, in his own opinions, and may have a small share of vanity. His talents seem solid and good, without much brilliancy, and his courage is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that Moreau fell at his side, and had both his legs so mutilated, as to render amputation necessary.

The Emperor may be seen in summer riding in a one-horse *droshki*, and in winter in a one-horse sledge, or walking on the quays of the Néva, or the boulevard of the admiralty in the most simple uniform. I shall never forget the first time I saw his Majesty. A few days after his return from Paris in 1815, I was introduced to Sir James Wylie, with whom I visited some of the military hospitals at Petersburgh, and in which I spoke with a number of medical gentlemen. A few days afterwards, on the palace-quay, at no great distance from one of these hospitals, I remarked an officer in a plain uniform without epaulets, whom I took for one of the physicians I had seen, and meant to address him. But for my want of knowledge of the French language, at that time, I should have addressed him. While I hesitated whether to say *Comment vous portez vous Monsieur le Docteur*, or simply, *Docteur?* the Emperor came upon me and stared. I detected my error and passed by. But what was my astonishment at seeing a number of persons, one after the other, standing to one side and taking off their hats as the said officer proceeded forward.

On enquiry, I found that I had taken the Emperor for a doctor.

Alexander having lost two children, whom he had by the Empress, the heir apparent to the throne of Russia is the Great Duke Constantine, of whom I have formerly spoken.* It is said that he has begun a reformation, and it is to be sincerely hoped for the sake of those he rules, or may rule, that it may be completed, and especially before he ascends the throne of his country. But as the Emperor is not much older than him, enjoys good health, and lives most temperately, the probability is, that he will outlive Constantine. And who can say that the Emperor may not again become a legitimate father?

The Great Dukes Nikolai Pávlovitch and Michail Pávlovitch, bear good characters, and probably the Russians would be content with either as a sovereign, though they seem to have some prepossession for the former, who is the oldest, and of course has a prior claim. Should the Emperor die, and not leave a son as successor, and should the grand dukes be alive, it is thought by many that there will be a dispute for the throne between the party of Constantine and that of Nikolai or of Michail.

The fame and prosperity of Russia seems deeply connected with the life of Alexander, because

* Vide p. 72. of this Vol.

none can tell whether the same, or equal good qualities may be united in his successor, or whether "his magnanimous soul may pass to his successors with his sceptre."

The reigning Empress is one of the best and most virtuous of her sex, and an example of conjugal fidelity to all ranks of society. An air of pensiveness, and even of melancholy, overhangs her beautiful and interesting features, which are rarely enlivened by a smile, and still seldomer by laughter. Her principles and conduct are equally worthy.

Before quitting the Imperial family, it ought to be stated that the Dowager-Empress, the consort of the late Paul, has also great merit. The affection she manifested at her Imperial husband's death, and the manner in which she has ever cherished his memory, do great honour to her heart. The pains she took in the education of her children, especially her daughters, was very praise-worthy. She has a great number of charitable institutions, as hospitals, foundling hospitals, schools, &c. under her immediate protection, and she devotes much time to their inspection and government.

It has been thought by some, that a few of my statements, with respect to the character, customs, manners, laws, and religion of the Russians, are too severe, and on the contrary, I have been privately accused of lenity and partiality toward this people. I am not inclined to swerve from a single

statement, and would wish to claim the virtue of impartiality. A few quotations, anecdotes, and remarks which follow, may be regarded as illustrations of "The Character of the Russians," and may be amusing to the reader.

In another work, often referred to, I have given many illustrations of the superstition of the Russians, with respect to their images (*obraza*), and with pain I have recorded my persuasion that the lower ranks, especially the peasants, often bestow on them that homage which is due only to the Supreme Being. I have also taken some pains to show that *graven images* are not uncommon in the Russian churches and chapels, and illustrated my statements by examples, and a representation of one of them. In the account of the monasteries and churches of Moscow, I have noticed the miraculous deeds attributed to the holy images. Astonishing cures have been performed, and victories have been gained by their presence, according to the faith of the Russians. One would have supposed, in these more enlightened days, that this people might have some more just conceptions with respect to the miraculous power of paintings of the saints, but, on the contrary, they are as much convinced of this as on the dawning of Christianity among them, many centuries ago. The letters which passed between the Emperor Alexander and Augustin the metropolitan of Moscow, who sent the image of St. Serge to his Imperial Majesty in 1812, are

quite illustrative of this truth. Alexander, whatever be his own ideas, wisely follows the external rites of his faith, and perhaps complies with ceremonies with he thinks absurd or useless.

I shall here throw some miscellaneous quotations together with respect to these subjects.

"True it is," says Collins, "the simpler sort of people in *Russia* are mere idolaters; and in the northern parts, as *Archangelo* and *Cola*, they know no other God but *St. Nicholas*, whom they really imagine to rule all the world. * They borrow their liturgy from the Greek church, which is written in the Sclavonian language; and used with as much knowlege as the Latin among the Papists. † They celebrate the festivals of their own saints with greater honour than those of the Apostles. For they say of *St. Nicholas*, he is *Nasha Bradt*, one of our brethren; and has a greater kindness for us his countrymen, than *St. Peter* or *St. Paul*, who never knew us. When they have extorted a vast estate out of the bowels of poor people, and grinding the faces of strangers, they think to expiate all their wicked actions at last, by building a church, and endowing it with abundance of images adorned with jewels, and furnishing it with a ring of bells; this they account a meritorious work. — Greater rogues there are not in the

* The Present State of Russia, in a Letter to a Friend, p. 91, 1671.

† Ibid, p. 3.

whole world, yet there is many good people also. Such as have improved their parts by conversing with strangers, are more civilized. * — They will sooner take the word of a man who has a beard, than the oath of one who is beardless."

"They" the Russians, says Milton, "follow the *Greek* church, but with excess of superstitions." †

Lord Whitworth tells us, "that the respect paid to their pictures is the grossest kind of idolatry, and makes up a principal part of their devotion." ‡

Such are the statements of former authors: but it was reserved for Dr. Clarke to give a lively dramatic representation of the image-worship of the Russians.

"For it is not only in their churches," says this author, "that such paintings are preserved; every room throughout the empire has a picture of this nature, large or small, called the *Bogh*, or God, stuck up in one corner; to which every person who enters offers adoration, before any salutation is made to the master or mistress of the house: and this adoration consists in a quick motion of the right hand in crossing, the head bowing all the time in a manner so rapid and ludicrous, that it reminds one of those Chinese mandarin images

* The Present State of Russia in a Letter to a Friend, p. 92. 1671.

† A Brief History of Moscovia, by John Milton, p. 18. 1682.

‡ An Account of Russia, as it was in the year 1710. By Charles Lord Whitworth, 1758.

seen upon the chimney-pieces of old houses; which, when set a-going, continue nodding, for the amusement of old women and children." * In another place he says, "We had a very interesting peep into the manners of the peasantry; for which we were indebted for the breaking of our sledge at Poschol. The woman of the house was preparing a dinner for her family, who were gone to church. It consisted of soup only. Presently her husband, a boor, came in, attended by his daughters, with some small loaves of white bread, not larger than a pigeon's egg, which I suppose the priest had consecrated, for they placed them with great care before the *Bogh*. Then the bowing and crossing began, and they went to dinner, all eating out of the same bowl. Dinner ended, they went regularly to bed (this is wonderful), as if to pass the night there, crossing and bowing as before. Having slept about an hour, one of the young women, according to an etiquette constantly observed, called her father, and presented him with a pot of vinegar, or *Quass*, the Russian beverage. The man then rose, and a complete fit of crossing and bowing seemed to seize him, with interludes so inexpressibly characteristic and ludicrous, that it was very difficult to preserve gravity. The pauses of scratching and grunting, with all the attendant circumstances of ventriloquism and eruct-

* Clarke's Travels in Russia, p. 25.

ation; *the apostrophes to his wife, to himself, and to his God;* were such as drunken Barnaby might have put into Latin, but need not be expressed in English!" *

It cannot be denied that such is the general practice of the peasants; at the same time, the late worthy Professor, on this, as on many other occasions, has given a stage effect, and even a degree of caricature, to his representation.

Some of the Russians are strictly abstemious, especially during the great fasts, while others give themselves little concern about ceremonies. The two following anecdotes will show how easily the Russians may be imposed upon, or rather, perhaps, how they impose upon themselves.

Some years ago I dined at the country house of a British family, in company with a prince who does honour to Russia, and a countess, since dead. One of the dishes was highly relished by all of the party, and particularly by the two noble personages mentioned. I had nearly committed the landlady, by an observation about the *young rabbits*, as they called the delicate animals served up, when my neighbour begged me not to say a word about the *pigeons* of which we had all partaken, or there would be a terrible uproar; "for," said he, "the Holy Ghost having assumed the form of a dove at the baptism of Christ, the Russians hold the pigeon to be sacred."

* Clarke's Travels, p. 36.

The distinguished Platon, the late metropolitan of Moscow, who was perhaps the most learned, and assuredly the most liberal-minded, divine Russia ever could boast, frequently dined with the military governor of that city. The governor, aware that his guest was rather a *bon-vivant*, and that during the fasts he did not much relish the prescribed diet, by a very simple process, as it is said, converted flesh into fish, and relieved, or rather prevented, all the metropolitan's scruples. The servant having placed a dish of good *animal soup* before the old man, the governor said, this is *fish soup*. The divine crossed himself, said *Amen*, and immediately partook of it. In the same manner, when delicate veal was served up, the governor said, this is sturgeon, or sterlet: the *Amen* was repeated, and the contents of the plate disappeared.

Among some old English authors we have much quaint and curious information respecting the people in question.

"As touching their behauiour and quality," says Fletcher, "otherwise they are of reasonable capacities, if they had those means that some other nations haue to traine vp their wittes in good nurture and learning." Speaking of their government, he says, "Which the people would hardely beare, if they were once ciuilled, and brought to more vnderstanding of God, and good policie. This causeth the Emperours to keep out all meanes of

making it better, and to be very warie for excluding all peregrinitie, that might alter their fashions. Which were less to bee disliked, if it set not a print into the very mindes of his people. For as themselues are verie hardlie and cruellie dealte withall by their chiefe magistrates, and other superiours, so are they as cruel one against another, specially ouer their inferiours, and such as under them. So that the basest and wretchedest *Christianoe* (as they call him) that stoupeth and croucheth like a dogge to the gentleman, and licketh vp the dust that lieth at his feete, is an intollerable tyrant where he hath the aduantage." — "And yet it may bee doubted whether is the greater, the crueltie or intemperancie that is vsed in that countrie. I will not speake of it, because it is so foule, and not to bee named. The whole countrie ouerfloweth with all sinne of that kinde. And no marueile, as hauing no lawe to restraine whoredomes, adulteries, and like vncleannesse of life." — "As for the truth of his word, the *Russe*, for the most part, maketh small regard of it, so he may gaine by a lie, and breache of his promise. And it may be saide truely (as they know best that haue traded most with them), that from the great to the small (except some fewe that will scarcely be founde) the *Russe* neither beleeueth any thing that an other man speaketh, nor speaketh any thing himselfe worthie to be beleeued." *

* Of the Rvsse Common Wealth, p. 115, 116. 1591.

According to Milton, "they have no learning, nor will suffer to be among them; their greatest friendship is in drinking; they are great talkers, lyars, flatterers, and dissemblers." *

According to Crull, "the *Muscovites* are a people of great wit, learning, and dexterity, not wanting ingenuity in any thing they undertake;" — "but they are withal exceedingly proud, jealous, and insolent; besides that, they are addicted to drunkenness beyond any other nation in the world." "The clergy as well as the laity, the women as well as the men, young and old, of what quality or degree soever, have their share in it." † "Fornication is look'd upon among them as a slender trespass; and though they don't permit public stews, yet they are not very backward in doing one another a kindness, especially when they are flush'd with liquor. They don't count it adultery for married people to have secret conversations with one another; adultery is not committed here, unless a man marry another man's wife." ‡

The general justice of the following account must be evident to all: "Plusieurs écrivains," says Manstein, "ont avancé, que les Russes, avant le règne de Pierre I. étoient généralement plongés dans l'ignorance la plus grossière, et que c'étoient

* A Brief History of Moscovia, by John Milton, p. 21. 1682.

† The Antient and Present State of Muscovy, by J. Crull, M. D. p. 140. 143. 1698.

‡ Idem. p. 149.

des hommes qui ne différoient guère de brutes, ce qui est entièrement faux." — "En général les Russes ne manquent pas d'esprit. Les soins de Pierre I. pour civiliser la nation, ne se sont jamais étendus jusqu'au bourgeois, ou jusqu'au paysans; cependant on n'a qu'à se donner la peine d'interroger un homme de cette classe, on trouvera presque toujours qu'il a du bon sens et du jugement. Bien entendu qu'il ne faut pas l'interroger sur des matières relatives à son gouvernement ou à sa religion; parceque sur ces choses il reste toujours imbu des préjugés de son enfance; mais sur tout le reste il répondra avec justesse, il marquera beaucoup de capacité pour comprendre tout ce qu'on lui propose, il saura facilement trouver des expédiens pour se tirer d'affaire, et il saisira avec une sorte de sagacité les meilleures occasions pour arriver a son bout. Enfin j'ai toujours trouvé plus d'intelligence chez les gens de peuple en Russie qu'on n'en trouve communément chez les gens de leur état, dans les autres pays de l'Europe." *

Nearly two years ago I made one of a numerous party at the solemnisation of a fête given by a nobleman in honour of his lady's name's-day. I was introduced to an officer who was a relation of a gentleman present, with whom he had been living, and who had exceeded the time allowed him of absence. While he related this circumstance to

* Mémoires Historiques, Politiques, et Militaires, sur la Russie, par le Général de Manstein, p. 582, 583.

me, he seemed quite indifferent, and he then added: — "You will be so kind as to give me a certificate of bad health, and that I have been under your treatment." I made every evasive answer; but, at length, when importuned, I gave a flat denial. I now thought the matter was ended; but I was soon afterwards called to an adjoining room by a friend of the officer's, who obligingly offered to write the certificate, and requested that I would *merely sign it.* I openly refused compliance, and my answer produced some coldness. The gentleman leaving the room, by way of taunt, said, "I find *you are an Englishman,*" and I never felt so flattered by the compliment. I afterwards learned, however, that my certificate would have been of no use to him, as I was neither in the military nor the civil service. Such certificates must have the signature of a district-surgeon, or of the nearest regimental surgeon. On proper application and payment of the usual fee, — or present, as it is generally called, — the gentleman easily procured the certificate he wanted. Such things daily occur.

Another officer, for whom I have a very great regard, was taken ill in the country, and also exceeded the prescribed time of return to his regiment. He became my patient, but knowing the rules of the service in such a case he never spoke to me about a certificate. Having written a few lines to the proper surgeon, and enclosed a *douceur*, he despatched a servant with his letter, to

the distance of twenty miles. In the evening the man returned with the desired testimonial. The *evidence* of a red bank note had been of more consequence than an examination of the patient.

A titled lady, though not very rich, has long been known at Moscow for her attentions to English females in want of situations as governesses in Russian families. She is never without a companion, and has sometimes two or three extra boarders. Her house has become — like the *marts* for servants in London, — the office of address, both for the applications of nobles and of females. I say females, because one half, nay, perhaps, three fourths of the British governesses in Russia, have been cooks, chambermaids, &c. who have risen to a rank which they could fill nowhere but in the north. I must, at the same time, allow, that there are a few well-educated, and really genteel ladies, who have devoted themselves to the same occupation, and who are not always sufficiently distinguished from their less worthy competitors. The same observation, as is well known, holds with regard to the other foreigners, as Germans and French, who are entrusted with the education of female youth. The extraordinary personages who frequently have the youth of the male sex committed to their inspection and guidance, have been sufficiently spoken of by different authors. But it is time to return to the subject of our story. The lady in question, I have not the

smallest doubt, has been of service to many individuals, some of whom were deserving of her protection, while others were not. But what will be the surprise of the reader, on learning that the said titled lady accepts of presents from her *protégées*, after they have got places; and that this is well understood between the parties. The lady, moreover, accomplishes another object, for she is not fond of being alone, and, by the succession of females who are in search of places, she has constantly a companion, without being obliged to pay her other salary than that of supporting her, and for which she expects a return. This is a kind of *bartering of charity* or *hospitality*, which is far from noble, and but ill accords with British ideas.

In The Character of the Russians, after treating at some length of the shocking state of various departments of the government of Russia, I have concluded in these words: "It may be said, that the whole system of the administration of Russia is like *the tissue of a decayed spider's web*, or rather *like the centre of an immense wheel held together by rotten spokes:* corruption supports corruption, rottenness props rottenness; and this explains how the machine still continues its onward progress. Should a *slight concussion* be received in one part, there is a *sympathy* of the rest, by which its force is uniformly diffused throughout the whole, and no single part gives way; for when one part gives

way the whole will fall; and that apparently will not happen until liberty gives a death-blow to despotism." * In another part of the same work I have said, "that the pitiable state of the merchants is deeply entwined with the woefully corrupt administration and the political condition of the empire, and that it forms one of the rotten spokes of one of the rotten wheels which have hitherto kept the mighty rotten machine in motion." †

This language is strong, but I would ask if it can be contradicted? Does not this very work contain numerous proofs of the fidelity of the picture? And was it not well known to the world before my work appeared. Mr. James says, "There is another evil no less injurious to morality, and no less destructive of the powers of industry (than slavery), that it will be found far more difficult, if not impossible, to remedy. There exists a system of bribery and corruption throughout every public department that exceeds all belief. It is a mischief, no doubt, inseparable from the principle of a despotic government, and has been felt here from ages the most remote." While in Russia, I have often mentioned in public that which I have since stated in my writings,—that the attention of the Emperor ought to be turned to the state of civil administration; and, by a communication from Hamburgh, dated April 17th,

* Character of the Russians, p. cxlix. † Ibid. p. cxxx.

1824, exactly four months after the publication of "The Character of the Russians," it appears that his Imperial Majesty has seriously begun the reformation. In this letter it is said, "The motives are now known which have induced the Russian government to convoke a certain number of the governors of provinces at St. Petersburgh. Those who have most experience in such matters have been assembled in the capital, in order to know their opinion on the projected changes in the organisation of the administration of the Russian empire. There have been several sittings, in which these changes have been discussed. The result of these deliberations is, that the changes ought not to be introduced simultaneously, but successively, and that they must be prepared for a longer or shorter period, according to the situation and internal state of each government. The reforms that are projected are very extensive. We understand that most of the intended changes have been introduced into the government of Orél.

"Immediately after the close of the above conferences, a great number of new governors were named. There have not only been many changes, but also new appointments. It is observed, that several of the governors who were present at the conferences have been changed, and sent as superior civil governors to those provinces where the new organisation is to be introduced immediately."

Every reformation must have a beginning, how-

ever remote may be the period destined for its complete execution, and although, during the reign of Alexander, the most sanguine cannot anticipate a great change in a system founded on the corruption of the human heart, rivetted by long custom, and necessitated by small salaries; yet, centuries hence, the name of that sovereign may be associated with a code of laws, which history will mark as the brightest monument of his government.

In The spring of 1822, a gentleman, now residing near London, after a short stay at Moscow, resolved to set off on his travels to the south. Every thing had been arranged for his departure; even his passport and his *podoróżné* had been received. A short time before he entered his travelling carriage, and while I was in conversation with him, a police officer, of whom he knew nothing, entered the apartment. My friend was exceedingly surprised, and even confounded. Unable to speak to the officer, he begged me to ask what he wanted. Though I understood the object of his visit, I hearkened to his speech. The *Kvartálnik* (district police-officer) now prayed me to tell my friend, that he had called upon him, as he resided in his quarter, and as he understood he was about to commence his travels, in order to offer his services, if they could be at all useful in assisting arrangements; and if not, as was customary, *to wish him a good journey.* I translated all the *Kvartálnik*

said, which heightened his surprise. I then told him, he had better shake hands with the *Kvartálnik*, accompany the grasp with a silver rouble, and bid him adieu. The *Kvartálnik* instantly made a polite low bow, and withdrew. This is one of the modes which the police have of augmenting their income, not merely among travellers and foreigners, but likewise among their countrymen. The *Kvartálnik* alluded to above, in whose district I also resided, to my certain knowledge, kept an excellent table, and a *droshki* and pair of horses for a beloved concubine, at the time the above circumstance happened.

Even the common watchmen (*Bútushniki*) have many ways of disturbing the inhabitants of towns. As there generally live three together in small houses erected at the necessary places, and keep watch night and day in their turn, so they know of almost every thing that passes within the limits of their assigned range. They have the means of receiving, or of obtaining, almost by compulsion, many trifling *douceurs*, or, as it is termed in Russ, *dengi na Vodtki*, i. e. drink-money. They complain that your servants have not cleaned the street or the pavement opposite your house; that quantities of snow, which have collected by drifting, must be carried away; that the pipes which convey the rain-water from the house are in want of repair; and such like things, and they will threaten to make a report to the *Kvartálnik*. But a trifle puts

all to rights, and if any thing is really not in order, the watchman sometimes assists in the necessary change; but, generally, the *dengi na vodtki* being pocketed, all complaint ceases, and things remain *in statu quo*.

One day last summer, I called upon an acquaintance, and while speaking with him a *Bútushnik* was announced. Having entered the room by my friend's desire, he said he had come to make a complaint: — "Your people," said he, "who are taking out rubbish, in laying it down upon the street, have exceeded the boundaries which the police allows." My friend, aware of the fact, replied, "Well, my good fellow, that shall soon be remedied." He ordered a servant to give the watchman a glass of *vodtki*, and put a ten *kopeek* silver-piece (not four-pence) into his hand, when he politely returned thanks and walked off, his object having been gained. The rubbish lay all day in the same place, but no complaint was repeated.

In all the towns of Russia, upon making certain arrangements, house-proprietors are exempted from providing quarters for soldiers. All houses, so privileged, display an ensign with the words "*Svobodna ot Post*," i. e. exempt from soldiers' quarters. Those whose property had not obtained such exemption, and at times even those who had, have been oppressed in a manner that exceeds all belief. I know those upon whom ten, twenty, and

even thirty soldiers have been billetted, if I may so speak, at once; a simple notice having a short time preceded their arrival. Indeed it has happened that even less ceremony has been used. Scarcely had a gentleman and his servants expressed their surprise on seeing a number of soldiers drawn up in the court-yard, when the accompanying under-officer entered the house with an order for quarters for the whole, and, before an answer was given, asked where they were to be placed. On showing surprise, and demanding a little time for preparations, the grossest insolence and abuse followed, and the soldiers entered the house, saying they would make good their quarters. While they lodged in it they uselessly consumed such quantities of wood and candles as caused a serious expense. Speaking was vain, and reproof was useless, to these Russians, who are excessively fond of warm chambers, heated like stoves, and who could procure this enjoyment by a little exertion, and at no expense. To have complained to the police would have been equally futile, unless a present had accompanied the complaint; and this present might have equalled, if not exceeded, the unnecessary waste of fuel or candles.

The gradations of rank which exist in Russia have been forcibly alluded to by many writers, and very generally either in terms of reprobation or of derision. Though such nice distinctions may have had, and still have, a considerable degree of utility

in a despotic country, especially in facilitating the steps of any department of its administration, yet it must be granted that they have also had a baneful influence upon society. They seem to be held up as the *summum bonum* of exertion, of talent, and of life: they have taken the place of virtue, of morality, and of religion, in the estimation of human character, and have thus done away the strongest excitements to intellectual refinement, to the cultivation of arts and sciences, and to the practice of moral and religious duties.

The badges of the Russian orders, — ribbons, crosses, medals, and cordons, — are so common as to astonish almost all foreigners. They at first believe they are meeting distinguished individuals at every step, and at length are ready to conclude that it is a mark of distinction to be without any *insignia* of rank.

An enumeration of the titles and addresses used in Russia, will give the reader considerable information as to the political constitution of this country.

Besides the titles of prince, count, baron, general, admiral, &c. which have been borrowed from foreign languages, some others are peculiar to it. The following are the chief titles and terms of address: —

Imperátor,	-	Emperor.
Imperatrítsa,	-	Empress.
Tsar, -	-	King or Sovereign.
Tsarítsa,	-	Queen.

Gosudár (masc.), -	**Monarch.**
Gosudárina (fem.),	**Ditto.**
Tsarévitch, -	**Son of the Tsar.**
Tsarévna, -	**Daughter of the Tsar.**
Velíkii Kniaz, -	Great Duke.
Velíka Kniagínya,	Great Duchess.
Kniaz, - -	Prince.
Kniagínya, -	Princess.
Graph, - -	Count.
Graphínya, -	Countess.
Velítchestvo, -	Majesty.
Visótchestvo, -	Highness.
Siátelstvo, -	Prince, literally Splendour.
Visokoprevoshodítelstvo,	This term, which can only be rendered in English by High Excellency, is applied to the first and second classes of the nobles.
Prevoshodítelstvo,	Excellency. Given to nobles of the third and fourth classes.
Visokoródiyé, -	This term is applied to nobles of the fifth class, and is a degree inferior to Excellency.
Visokoblaghoródiye,	Very Noble, or Nobleness: belongs to officers of high rank.
Blaghoródiyé, -	Noble, Nobleness. This is the lowest title of noble rank; it is given to inferior officers, and is often bestowed by way of compliment.
Gospodín, -	Sir.
Gospója, -	Madam.
Gosudár,* -	Sir.

* I know not by what chance this word came to signify emperor, and also to be applied to the meanest noble or person in the realm. It is seen on the back of every letter, except those of the peasants and slaves, and is generally preceded by the adjective *milostívii*, and is then equal to Gracious Sir. If a letter is sent to an equal it begins thus: "To the gracious Sir, Mr. ———; and if to a superior, To *my* gracious Sir, Mr. ———.

Gosudárina, -	Madam.
Bárin, - -	Master, Proprietor, Gentleman.
Bárina, -	Mistress, &c.
Batúshka, } Matúshka, }	Terms of courtesy, vide p. 255. and p. 259. Notes, of this Volume.
Tainii Sovétnik, -	Privy Counsellor.
Kolléjskii Sovétnik,	Counsellor of the College.
Nadvórnii Sovétnik,	Court, or Aulic Counsellor.
Titulárnii Sovétnik,	Titular Counsellor.

The ranks in the army and navy are nearly the same as those of other countries, and words corresponding to colonel, captain, lieutenant, &c. are to be found in the Russian language. Military titles form the standard of rank in Russia, and, it may almost be said, of merit or demerit. Those of prince, count, &c. confer little distinction, without some military rank, or at least some *military title;* for many civil officers are generals, captains, &c. who never were in the military or the naval service.

Among the clergy we find metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, *archimandrites*, monks, priests, &c., and the following addresses are used to discriminate them: —

Visokopréösviatschénstvo,	Most Reverend Lordship. This address is used for metropolitans, or archbishops.
Preosviatchénstvo, - -	Eminence; Lordship: applied to bishops.
Visokoprepodóbiyé,	Very Reverend: bestowed on abbots, and priors of convents.
Prepodóbiyé, -	Reverend: given to monks and priests.

Since the days of Paul, the clergy have received civil rank, so that it is very common to find the cross of Christ and the cross of a Russian order suspended together from the neck.

The merchants are divided into three guilds* according to their declared capital. The most distinguished take the title of *Kommertchéskii Sovétnik*, or counsellor of commerce, and wear its badge of honour, a large medal, suspended round the neck by a blue ribbon. All the merchants are addressed as *Gospodíns*, or Sirs, and so are the simple *Mestchanins*, or burgesses.

The peasants are addressed simply thus: John the son of James (*Iván Yakovlévitch*). But, contrary to the assertion of some travellers, they have a family name, which is used on necessary occasions, as in law deeds, contracts, &c. The Emperor may be addressed in the same words as the meanest peasant of the empire (whose name is the same), simply Alexander Pávlovitch, or Alexander the son of Paul; and nothing is so polite as this mode of address, nor is so much cherished by the natives of all ranks.

It is a fact now generally known, that, according to his rank in life, a person is permitted to drive certain kinds of carriages, and a certain number of horses, and at one period the laws were rigidly observed, so that a man's rank was known by his

* Vide Character of the Russians, p. 273.

equipage. The same laws still exist, but they are not strictly adhered to; great toleration being allowed by the present government.

To so great a length did the attention to rank and titles extend about twenty years ago, that the address of every letter was examined at the post-office before being received. If any address was found deficient in the full title of the individual, or if the smallest error was remarked, the letter was returned to be enclosed in another envelope, according to the custom of the country, and addressed anew. At length the address of a letter absolutely became a sort of narrative of the individual to whom it was sent, and required some time to be read.* No such troublesome and inconvenient punctilio is now observed.

* To this day the same practice exists with respect to any public deeds. A single example will suffice. In a *podórojné* which we received from Count Langeron at Odéssa, and which I preserve, only ten lines (one half written) relate to its object, while sixteen printed lines are occupied in telling us about the General. As it is really a curiosity, I shall give a translation of the part alluded to, *verbatim et literatim*, with the words as nearly in the same order as their sense will permit. — " Of His Most Gracious Majesty the Gosudár; the General of infantry in the suite of His Majesty; Military Governor of Khersón; acting as civil governor of Khersón, Yekaterinoslaf, and the Taurida; Chief Commander of the town of Odéssa, and of all the commercial ports of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoph, and of the frontiers; Chevalier of the orders of St. Andrew; of St. Alexander Névskii ornamented with brilliants; of St. George, large cross, second rank; of St. Vladimir, first rank; of St. Ann, first rank; of the Austrian order Maria Theresa, third class; of

The following anecdote will illustrate the homage which some of the nobles expect.

A physician who, many years ago, resided in one of the governments of the interior of Russia, with a very rich and distinguished nobleman, was more characterised for his professional talents and good sense than for attention to the punctilio, and the unmeaning compliments which are so highly valued in the northern empire, and which very often make up for all deficiencies of knowledge in the healing art. Though by no means wanting in good manners, or the respect due to elevated rank, he had the misfortune to offend his employer in a manner which we Britons should suppose somewhat singular, had it happened between a nobleman and a physician in this country.

My friend made his morning visit, as usual, to the noble, who gave him a severe reprimand, expressed in very violent terms, because he had not saluted him with a more respectful bow, — "*a lower bow*," — on entering his room.

The subsequent anecdote illustrates the treatment medical men at times receive from the Rus-

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the French order of St. Lewis; of the Prussian orders of the Black and Red Eagle, large cross; of the Swedish order of the Sword, first class; of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and of the American Sinsinatus; having a golden sword with an inscription for bravery, and medals for the storm of Ismail, and for the year 1812. (Signed)

"Count LANGERON."

sian nobles, and was recounted to me by a gentleman, formerly a resident in Russia. He was engaged to go to that country as physician to a nobleman, a descendant of one of the highest families in the empire. Having arrived at Petersburgh, he entered a vast and magnificent palace, in which he was splendidly entertained, and was led to form the most agreeable predictions with respect to the comfort of his situation. Judge then of his astonishment in the evening, after the descent of a number of stairs, when he found himself lodged in the *sousbasement*, which is generally occupied by the servants, or at least a part of them, in the houses of the nobility in Russia. After gazing all round a small dirty apartment, which was dignified with the appellation of a *spalnya*, or bed-room, and being quite disgusted, my friend knew not what to do, as the family, with whom he spoke French, had retired to bed, and he could not hold any communication, except by signs, with the servant who had accompanied him. However revolting to his feelings, he therefore determined to pass one night in the said *bed-room*, and then to make a representation. He went to bed, but not to sleep, for the privacy of his apartment was soon disagreeably intruded upon by formidable enemies, who made their approaches on all sides, and traversed the bed in every direction. After vainly attempting to set them at defiance, he put himself upon the defensive, and by a vigorous use of a cane which he

fortunately had at hand, he convinced himself that the enemies with whom he had to contend were rats, and put them to flight for the moment, but they retreated only to renew the contest each time that he had begun to compose himself to sleep, and the night was passed in a state of constant warfare with these unwelcome intruders.

Dr. Clarke says, "the etiquette of precedency, so rigorously observed at a Russian table, prevails also in the order of the dishes and bottles arranged for the guests. In barbarous times we had something like it in England. Perhaps the custom is not even now quite extinct in Wales; it is preserved in large farm-houses in remote parts of England, where all the family, from the master to the lowest menial, sit down to the same table. The choicest dishes are carefully placed at the upper end, and are handed to those guests who sit near the owner of the mansion, according to the order in which they sit; afterwards, if any thing remains, it is taken gradually to the rest. Thus a degree in precedency makes all the difference between something and nothing to eat; for persons at the bottom of the table are often compelled to rest satisfied with an empty dish. It is the same with regard to the wines; the best are placed near the top of the table, but, in proportion as the guests are removed from the post of honour, the wine before them diminishes in quality, until at last it degenerates into simple *quass*. Few things can offer more re-

pugnance to the feelings of an Englishman than the example of a wealthy glutton pouring forth eulogiums upon the choice wines he has placed before a stranger, merely out of ostentation, while a number of brave officers and dependants are sitting by him to whom he is unable to offer a single glass. I sometimes essayed a violation of this barbarous custom, by taking the bottle placed before me and filling the glasses of those below; but the offer was generally refused through fear of giving offence by acceptance, and it was a mode of conduct which I found could not be tolerated, even by the most liberal host. At a Russian table two tureens of soup usually make their appearance, as we often see them in England; but if a stranger should ask for that which is placed at the bottom of the table, the master of the house regards him with dismay, the rest all gaze at him with wonder, and when he tastes what he has obtained, he finds it to be a mess of dirty and abominable broth, stationed for those who never venture to ask for soup from the upper end of the table." *

This statement seems to be a mixture of truth and caricature. With respect to precedency, the wines, and the dishes, the general account is quite correct. I have repeatedly seen the meats, pastry, and fruit fall short of serving the whole party; but this is not always the case. I have often remarked

* Clarke's Travels, p. 634.

that some of the dependants received an inferior wine or none at all. I do not know any thing of two tureens of soup being placed upon the table in Russia, where all the dishes are handed round by the servants. When there are two kinds of soup the individual generally has his choice; for if he refuses the first kind the second is brought to him. The "*dirty and abominable broth*" to which Dr. Clark alludes, was most likely *stchi*, or sour cabbage soup, which is a favourite dish of the Russians, and although its odour is not the most agreeable, it is highly relished by foreigners after a short residence in their country.

I had an intention of making some remarks on the climate of Russia, especially of Moscow, but they would extend to too great a length for these volumes. I have chosen, however, the representation of an ice palace for the vignette of this chapter, which I shall now proceed to explain.

The works of Parry, Lyon, and others, of late, have made the public familiar with the ice houses of the inhabitants of the polar regions, and the ice palace which was constructed at Petersburgh in the year 1740, has been frequently noticed in several books, and especially by chemical writers. Yet, to my knowledge, no view or complete and accurate description of that palace has been given to the British public. I therefore think that a short account of this edifice may amuse the general reader, while it may be referred to by the philo-

sopher as a curious illustration of the power of cold, and the density and application of ice. I have taken the following description, and the view of the ice palace with its appendages, from the work of Kraft, the celebrated academician, which was published the year after its erection.* From the author's statement it appears that, seven years anterior to the erection of the palace in question, an ice castle and garrison had been built upon the river Néva. But the ice bent under their weight and that of the soldiers who guarded them. At the whimsical marriage of Prince Gallitsin†, it was resolved to erect a palace of ice, and to avoid the same occurrence, a situation between the Admiralty and the Winter-Palace was chosen for its foundation on *terra firma*, and Mr. A. D. Tatístchef, one of the lords of the bed-chamber, was instructed to superintend the execution of the scheme according to a regular plan. It may be difficult to determine whether the expenses of the erection of this ice palace, or the purpose for which it was destined, as the temporary residence

* The small work in quarto is entitled *Podlinnoyé i obstoyatelnoyé postroennaho iv Sanktpeterburché iv Genvaré Mesiatsé, 1740. Ledianaho Doma, &c.*; or, A True and Particular Account of the Ice House built at St. Petersburgh in the Month of January 1740; by George Kraft, Member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, and Professor of Physics. Printed at the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1741.

† Vide Tooke's Catherine II.

of the Prince already mentioned and his bride, demonstrated the highest degree of folly.

The ice palace was constructed of blocks of ice cut out of the winter covering of the Néva, which were from two to three feet in thickness, according to necessity. Being properly formed and adjusted to each other, water was poured between them, which, being soon frozen, acted the part of cement; so that the whole edifice, with its furniture, may be said to have consisted of one immense mass of ice.

The length of the edifice was fifty-six, its breadth seventeen and a half, and its height twenty-one feet. It was constructed according to the strictest rules of art, and was adorned with a portico, columns, and statues. It consisted of a single story, whose front was provided with a door and fourteen windows, the frames of the latter, as well as the panes, being all formed of ice. The sides of the doors and of the windows were painted in imitation of green marble.

On each side of the door was a dolphin, from the mouths of which, by means of naphtha, volumes of flame were emitted in the evening. Next to them were two mortars, equal to eighty-pounders, from which many bombs were thrown, a quarter of a pound of powder being used for each charge. On each side of the mortars stood three cannons, equal to three-pounders, mounted upon carriages and with wheels, which were often used. In the presence of a number of persons attached to the

court, a bullet was driven through a board two inches thick, at the distance of sixty paces, by one of these cannon; a quarter of a pound of powder being also used for a charge.

The interior of the edifice had no ceiling, and consisted of a lobby and two large apartments; one on each side, which were well furnished and painted in the most elegant manner, though merely formed of ice. Tables, chairs, statues, looking-glasses, candlesticks, watches, and other ornaments, besides tea-dishes, tumblers, wine-glasses, and even plates with provisions, were seen in one apartment, also formed of ice and painted of their natural colours; while in the other was remarked a state-bed with curtains, bed, pillows, and bed-clothes, two pairs of slippers, and two night-caps of the same cold material.*

Behind the cannon, the mortars, and the dolphins, stretched a low balustrade. On each side of the building was a small entrance, pots with flowers, and orange trees, partly formed of ice and partly natural, on which birds sat. Beyond these were erected two icy pyramids. On the right of one of them stood an elephant, which was hollow, and so contrived as to throw out burning naphtha, while a person within it, by means of a tube, imitated the natural cries of this animal. On

* Kraft's Work contains two views of the interior of the ice palace.

the left of the other pyramid was seen the never-failing concomitant of all princely dwellings in Russia, a *banya*, or bath, apparently formed of balks, which is said to have been sometimes heated, and even to have been appropriated to use.

The appearance of the ice palace, it is said, was remarkably splendid when lighted up in the evening with numerous candles. Amusing transparencies were usually suspended in the windows to increase the effect, and the emission of flames by the dolphins and the elephant, all tended to excite greater surprise, while the people beheld the crystalline mass.

As was naturally to be expected, crowds of visitors were continually seen around this fantastic and unique construction, which remained entire from the beginning of January almost to the middle of March. At the end of the latter month, however, the glassy fabric began to melt, and soon afterwards it was broken into pieces which were conveyed to the Imperial ice-cellar.

I have elsewhere described every object at Moscow worthy of notice, and even represented the most remarkable as they existed in 1822. By communications from Russia, I find that immense improvements are still going on in that capital, and that the newly-repaired, or rather rebuilt, theatre is one of the finest edifices in the world. It is of a huge size, and has a most magnificent appearance. The gardens of Alexander are still more

imposing than when I described them. Palaces and houses are rising or repairing in all quarters of the city.* Indeed Moscow is gradually recovering from her misfortune. May heaven grant her prosperity, and her people advancement in civilisation, with all its concomitant blessings.

* The reader will find a description of the church of Our Saviour, which is to be erected on the Sparrow-hill, in p. 484. of the Appendix.

CHAP. XXIV.

CIVIL AND MILITARY HOSPITALS IN RUSSIA. — MARY'S HOSPITAL AT PETERSBURGH.—NAVAL HOSPITALS.—DIVISIONS OF THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT IN RUSSIA. — SIR ALEXANDER CRICHTON. — DR. LEIGHTON. — SIR JAMES WYLIE, BART.— OUTLINES OF HIS LIFE. — PHYSICAL CHARACTER OF THE RUSSIANS. —TOOKE'S OPINION. — DR. CLARKE'S OPINION. — MR. JAMES' OPINION. — DEPARTURE FROM MOSCOW. — THE KHERSÓN GATES AT NÓVGOROD.—MILITARY COLONISATION. —NEW ROAD BETWEEN PETERSBURGH AND MOSCOW. — THE ESTABLISHMENT OF *DILIGENCES*. — PETERSBURGH. — CONCLUSION.

It is impossible to travel through Russia without being forcibly struck with the fine appearance of many hospitals, both civil and military. They are

numerous in Moscow and St. Petersburgh, and are generally built in an excellent style of architecture, combining as much ornament as is necessary for, and consistent with, utility. They do great credit to the nation, and especially to the Emperor Alexander, who has been most liberal towards their endowment, and is always watchful of their state. His visits are frequent, and often unexpected, and he takes great pleasure in their improvement.

In "The Character of the Russians, &c." I have described all the principal hospitals of Moscow, as Paul's, Galítsin's, Sheremétof's, Catherine's, &c. and especially the chief military hospital. Most of those structures are of immense size, and are well arranged. At Petersburgh the military hospitals are particularly well organised, and the hospital of the Dowager Empress Mary might serve as a model for such establishments throughout the world, whether we regard its exterior appearance or its internal arrangement. In order that the reader may have a general idea of the architecture of such institutions, whether civil or military, I have caused a representation of the last-mentioned hospital to be engraved as the vignette of the present chapter. The best hospitals are built of brick, but many of them are also constructed of wood, and it is not uncommon to find an assemblage of one story structures in lieu of one large edifice, especially in the interior of the empire.

The naval hospitals are not such fine structures

in general as those mentioned, except at Petersburgh. Those at Cronstadt are of great size, but of a very plain appearance, and their interior, as well as their management, admits of great improvement.

In Russia there are three chiefs of corresponding divisions of the Medical department, the *Civil*, the *Military*, and the *Naval*, and it is remarkable that, till very lately, they were all Britons.

The distinguished Sir Alexander Crichton was at the same time chief of the Civil division, and physician to the Emperor and the Dowager Empress. He attempted to introduce many improvements, but was not completely successful. The fault, however, was not his, but arose from the general state of the country, and the prejudices and stubbornness of the natives. He commenced a reformation which it is to be hoped will be completed. He is succeeded by Dr. Rehman, a German physician, who had influence enough to obtain the appointment, even though opposed by Sir James Wylie.

Though Dr. Leighton is chief of the Naval division, I have heard, that almost all the hospitals are greatly in want of new arrangements. I have no doubt that this gentleman finds it very difficult to make alterations, and perhaps he has learned by experience that the best way of acting is to receive his salary and let the Russians go on their own way. There is some wisdom in this, because the man who wishes to make great improvements, un-

less under the immediate inspection of the Emperor, or of a few well-known, spirited, liberal, and well-informed individuals, runs the risk of being not only laughed at and opposed, but also of becoming the object of intrigue and abuse.

Dr. Leighton is one of those men to whom fate has been extremely propitious since his arrival at Petersburgh. A very short time after he reached this city, he had the good fortune to be called to visit the lady of Admiral Tchítchagof, who was very ill during her *confinement*. The ignorance, or the negligence, of the other medical attendants was of great use to the Doctor, who by timely venesection at once relieved his patient's suffering, and she became a mother. In this manner he gained the Admiral's protection and recommendation, which, with his own assiduity and success, soon brought him into great practice as an accoucheur. Indeed he has long had the best practice in this department at Petersburgh, and it is said that he has amassed a considerable fortune.

Sir James Wylie, who is chief of the Military division, is one of the most notorious and most powerful individuals in Russia. His career has been extraordinary, and well illustrates what fate seems to have propitiously destined for some of her favourites. With no very brilliant medical talents, with but very moderate scientific acquirements, and with much singularity and little refinement of manners, Sir James Wylie has risen

from the most obscure parentage to be the first medical person in the Russian empire. His parents were well known on the banks of the Forth and of the Clyde, and obtained notoriety on account of their son's elevation. The good old folks performed their duty to him in his youth, and furnished him the means of getting a medical education at the university of Edinburgh, at the conclusion of which he went to Russia. After his arrival at Petersburgh, he entered the army, and combined the duty of surgeon and tutor to one of the sons of Colonel Fenshaw, to whose regiment he belonged. He was afterwards stationed for some time at Moscow, and then in the interior of the empire, with a noble family. Through the interest of the late Dr. Rogerson, he was appointed operator at the court, and I believe he retained this situation while he also lived in the family of Count Strógonof. A new and important epoch of his life approached, and the whim of the Emperor Paul led to his rise in life. This monarch had raised one of his lowest attendants to the rank of Count, and had bestowed upon him an ample fortune in money and property. Count Kutăisof*, for this was the said Count's name, was seized with a violent inflammation of the fore part of the neck, that terminated in a large abscess, by which his Excellency endured great pain and extreme difficulty of respir-

* See his history in the Life of Catherine II.

ation. Indeed he was threatened with suffocation. The patient was attended by a number of the first medical men at court, who never thought of the only means of relief, the opening of the abscess. In the extremity of his disease, some friend advised the Count to send for Dr. Wylie in the middle of the night. On his arrival this gentleman opened the tumour, and an immense quantity of matter was evacuated; the pain of tension was at once relieved, and the pressure upon the *trachea*, or windpipe, being removed, the breathing became natural. In an instant Count Kutăisof was restored to comparative health. On the following morning, Paul, as usual, sent to enquire respecting the Count's state, and was astonished at the above relation. Paul then sent for Dr. Wylie, and appointed him to attend the court as physician.

After Count Kutăisof's recovery, and Sir James Wylie's advancement, it was jocularly reported, that "*Dr. Wylie had made his fortune by cutting Count Kutăisof's throat.*" This anecdote may be heard repeated almost every morning throughout the year at Sir J. Wylie's levee, with all the peculiarity and *naïveté* which characterise this gentleman.

Some other cases, equally fortunate for Sir James Wylie, soon afterwards occurred; so in truth it may be said, that he rose upon the ignorance or stupidity of his contemporaries. His good fortune

made him the subject of numerous plans to accomplish his ruin, but he defeated them all by extreme watchfulness, assiduity, and interest.

After Paul's death, and Alexander's ascent to the throne, Sir James Wylie still preserved his place, and has successively been appointed his Majesty's Body-Surgeon and Physician, Chief of the Military Medical Department, President of the Medico-Chirurgical Academy, &c., and has had numerous Russian and foreign orders conferred upon him. Besides, he has been chosen a member of almost all the learned societies in Russia, and also of a few in Great Britain and upon the Continent. In addition to all these distinctions, after sharing the dangers and the honours of the campaign in 1812–13, by particular request of the Emperor Alexander, he was knighted by the Prince Regent, on board one of his Majesty's ships at Portsmouth; Platóf's sword being used on the occasion. He was also made a Baronet of Great Britain. Since he became attached to the Emperor, he has accompanied his Majesty in almost all his journeys throughout Russia, as well as other countries.

Sir James Wylie was reckoned a good surgeon, and indeed was known as an expert and successful lithotomist, before his appointment as operator at court, and had acquired much reputation both at Moscow and Petersburgh. Since his appointment to the head of the military department, he has been most assiduous in his duties, and has

much merit for having greatly raised the medical character, introduced numerous improvements into surgical practice, and re-organised the military hospitals. With the assistance of a number of the professors, he also composed a Pharmacopœia, which has had its use in that empire, though a work of little ingenuity or merit; and, unfortunately, the knight, in his ardour for the adoption of new names, has composed some almost the width of a page, than which nothing can be more ridiculous. A letter of mine, written by his desire, addressed to him, and published in the Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, nearly nine years ago, points out the folly and the danger of a continual change of pharmaceutical nomenclature.

In consequence of the favour in which Sir J. Wylie is held, or is supposed to be held, by the Emperor, he has acquired much importance in affairs which do not belong to his department. Princes, generals, and officers of all ranks are daily seen at his levees, some of whom he treats in the most extraordinary manner, as if they were quite his dependants. But, as he has obtained a character for oddity and drollery, whether real or affected I shall not presume to determine, every liberty is excused. The protection of the Emperor, besides, is a shield against all complaints in a country where the degradation of despotism and slavery is still manifest in all ranks of society, at least to those

who have opportunities of witnessing their transactions when under no restraint.

Sir James Wylie has avoided private practice. He lives in his apartments in the Imperial palace, in the most economical, I might say niggardly, manner, and seldom or never pays for a dinner. If obliged to remain at home, I have been told that, soldier-like, he makes his repast on black bread and salt. But, in general, he goes, without invitation, to some acquaintance, either in the palace or in the city, and dines *en famille*, agreeably to the custom of the country. He has acquired considerable wealth, and has now the revenues of two *arends*, or estates, which the Emperor has bestowed upon him: but he is by no means so rich as many imagine.

Before quitting Russia, I may be expected to say something of the physical character of the natives, especially as the accounts of preceding writers are so extremely opposite. I shall illustrate this by some quotations.

Tooke, after telling us that the Russians are a moderate-sized, well-built, vigorous, and durable race of men, makes the following remarks:—

"Easy as it is occasionally, by comparison, to discriminate the Russian by his outward make from other Europeans, it will, however, be found very difficult to point out the principal lineaments of the national physiognomy, as speaking features are

in general extremely rare. The following may be deemed common and characteristical: a small mouth, thin lips, white teeth, little eyes, a low forehead. The nose has a great variety of forms; it is most frequently seen to be small, and turned upwards. The beard is almost always very bushy; the colour of the hair varies through all the shades, from dark brown to red, but it is seldom quite black. The expression of the countenance is gravity, good-nature, and sagacity. Hearing and sight are usually very acute, but the other senses more or less obtuse by manner of living and climate. The gait and gestures of the body have a peculiar and often impassioned vivacity, partaking, even with the mere rustics, of a certain complaisance, and an engaging manner." *

"In the general appearance of features and countenance," says Clarke, "the *Russians* have nothing very characteristic; and, when their beards are cut off, as is the case with those who live as servants in the families of gentlemen, they could not be distinguished from Englishmen; but, in the dresses of the people, we are reminded of the inhabitants of some *Asiatic* towns, though perhaps in summer, when the robes, pelisses, and caps are not worn, the impression may be different." †

Mr. James had very opposite ideas from Clarke. He states authoritatively, that "the general cha-

* Tooke's View of the Russian Empire, vol. ii. p. 252.
† Clarke's Travels. Scandinavia, p. 488. 1823.

racter of the Russian countenance differs as much from the European face, as the Mantshoo Tartar from the Mongol, or Chinese from the Hindu, and may be said to bear the same genuine character as the two former of these nations. The Russian face is marked by high broad cheek-bones, and a short triangular form of face." *

On this occasion I am inclined to differ from Mr. James, and in a great measure to agree with Tooke and Clarke.

In the year 1823, I left Moscow for Petersburgh. The road between the capitals has been described by many travellers. I shall therefore merely allude to its novelties and recent intelligence.

I have particularly described the Cathedral of St. Sophia at Nóvgorod in my Essay on Architecture in Russia †: and I may mention here, that the distinguished writer, Adelung, has published a thin quarto volume at Berlin, illustrated with plates, in which he gives his own opinion, and reports many facts to prove, that the famous Khersón gates, as they are called, of this temple, were made at Magdeburgh, towards the commencement of the 13th century, and satisfactorily explains the manner in which they received this appellation, without supposing that they were transported from ancient Khersón, in the Krimea.

* James's Journal of a Tour, &c. p. 474. Note.

† Vide The Character of the Russians, &c. Appendix, p. 586.

Notwithstanding the general unpopularity of the system of military colonisation, which I have explained at length in a pamphlet, government seems determined on its prosecution. Three years ago, near Nóvgorod, there was a village called Trubitchina, which was destroyed, and Sviazi rose adjoining to its site. Of this military colony I have given the following description: "About forty houses are already constructed, all upon the same plan. They are one story high, and each has an elevated central ornament, like an additional story, penetrated by a semi-circular window. They form a line along the river Volchof, and have gardens and out-houses behind them. Their long façade, in the centre of which is a church, with its belfry, is towards the great road. As the houses are not immediately contiguous, this line is very extensive, and before it ranges of green plots are railed in; so that Sviazi really has a neat and imposing appearance, and is by far the most remarkable military colony I have seen. This establishment is to be further augmented." *

The Herculean undertaking of MacAdamising the road between Moscow and Petersburgh does the Emperor Alexander much credit, and will be a lasting monument of his reign. It was nearly completed between the residence and Nóvgorod

* Vide An Account of the Organization, Administration, and Present State of the Military Colonies in Russia.

in 1823, and since that period great advancement has been made.

The *Diligences* which now run daily between the capitals, prove an immense convenience.

Petersburgh has been well described by Storch, Svinin, and Mr. James. The last author, with justice, has called it "the fairest city of the world." The magnificence of its streets, edifices, canals, &c. with the majestic Néva flowing between them, is not to be described. How much, therefore, is it to be lamented that the situation of the capital was so badly chosen. It has suffered enormously by inundations at different periods, but the dreadful catastrophe of 1824 ought to make the Russians think seriously of removing the seat of their government, and they never could have a better opportunity for so doing than at present. Who can tell that such another, or a greater, inundation may not take place next year, and every succeeding year? In that dreadful uncertainty, is it prudent to repair the capital, and to risk the lives and fortunes of hundreds of thousands of human beings?

It would be extremely desirable that the Emperor Alexander would turn his attention to the improvement of the civil administration of Russia, instead of devoting so much time to the army and to military establishments. To such an extent has the taste for military rank and military life grown upon the Russians, that it involves all other considerations, and it is not uncommon to hear these

memorable words, "*Quand je vois un officier civil il me donne mal au cœur,*" resounding throughout the halls of the Imperial winter palace. Indeed the idea seems more than ever to be spread throughout the nation, that a man, whatever be his civil rank by birth, by education, or by talents, is nothing — nay, is in some degree contemptible — unless he has been a soldier, or at least has acquired military title. Yet the civilians form the real strength of the empire, and are by far the most useful class of society.

I shall now conclude these volumes, as I began them, by wishing the rapid advancement of Russia in civilisation, and her elevation in the scale of nations.

APPENDIX, No. I.

(*To Chap. IV. p.* 157. *Vol. I.*)

ODÉSSA.

Since I finished the description of Odéssa, I have learned that great improvements have been lately made, and are making, in that town. Two of the principal streets have been MacAdamised; a fine boulevard has been formed near the theatre; a new prison is erecting; a number of houses for the accommodation of the officers have been built at the quarantine; and light-houses have been reared for the advantage of mariners. But the Lycée-Richelieu is still on the decline, its new director having disappointed the expectations of the public. Count Voróntsof, the Governor-general, is extremely active; he has been occupied in a survey of all the provinces which are under his jurisdiction, and in forming plans for future improvements. Count Gurief, the commandant of Odéssa, is also busy. He is esteemed a man of considerable talents, but is not well liked. He enters too much into the minutiæ of affairs to please the Odéssians. I am informed that the population of Odéssa is really 40,000, but I do not give credit to the statement. It is again reported, that it is seriously in agitation to carry a canal either from the Dnêper or the Dnêster to Odéssa.

In page 191. Volume I., I have implied that Odéssa had

again become a free port. But that is not the case. After the examination and report of Mr. Ribeaupierre, the barriers or boundaries of the town were greatly contracted, and a new regulation with respect to importation was adopted. All kinds of merchandise for the consumption of Odéssa pay only one quarter of the duty which is demanded at any of the other ports of Russia; *i. e.* instead of paying 100 roubles for any given quantity of goods at Petersburgh, Riga, &c., only twenty-five roubles are paid at Odéssa. But if the merchandise imported is afterwards sent into the interior of Russia, then the other seventy-five roubles become payable to the custom-house. In order to prevent smuggling, the merchants have adopted a very effective plan, provided there be no means devised to elude it. Two of their number constantly attend the custom-house, and superintend all affairs. A complete statement being made of the kind and quantity of goods annually imported, an allowance, founded upon experience, is made for the consumption of the town, and, of course, an account of the remaining merchandise must be furnished. The surplus must either be in the custom-house, some private store-house, or sent to the interior of Russia.

The revenue of the custom-house is wholly applied for the improvement of Odéssa. The first year after the new regulation, I have been told that it amounted to the sum of 100,000 roubles, and last year to about half of that sum.

It is quite amusing to hear how some enthusiasts talk of extending the trade of Odéssa, and of the extraordinary prosperity which it is to attain before a century revolve. In page 189. Volume I., it is mentioned that the sanguine M. de Pradt anticipates that the population of Odéssa in 1923, will amount to 200,000 souls, and I have had a conversation with a gentleman of still warmer feelings, who

thinks the worthy Abbé's calculation by far too low. Odéssa is to become the grand *débouché* of the south of the Russian empire for corn, hemp, tallow, &c., and the chief port for importation of all foreign commodities. Commerce to a great extent is to be also maintained between this town and the Caucasus, Georgia, and Persia. In fact Odéssa is soon to be one of the first ports in the world. How far these pleasant anticipations are well founded, will appear from the following remarks.

Ever since I was at Odéssa in 1822, its commerce has been extremely dull, and at this very moment it is nearly at a stand.

The Russian government may build and improve public edifices, harbours, quarantines, streets, and do all it can to encourage commerce, but it cannot command it. Is it not contrary to reason to expect that so long as the Turks command the Bosphorus, and of course the commerce of all the ports of the Black Sea, that the trade of Odéssa can either be stable, or permanently extensive? During peace with Turkey it may be greatly extended, but with a declaration of war it is nearly annihilated *pro tempore*. A protracted state of uncertainty as to war or peace also threatens the ruin of this town. Every individual fears to give extensive orders for foreign merchandise, because he might be ruined by the shutting of the Bosphorus. He fears to build, to cultivate, or to acquire immovable property, because he knows not how soon Odéssa may be deserted. Besides, at present there is little demand for corn, the most extensive article of the commerce of Odéssa.

But let us suppose that the trade of Odéssa was immensely increased, and that the town had acquired a considerable degree of opulence, would not Turkey, aware of the then importance of this port to Russia, take advantage

of the circumstance, and force conditions from her, by holding up the shutting of the Bosphorus *in terrorem?*

From all these considerations some would be inclined to predict the fall of Odéssa. It seems more probable, however, that it may remain nearly in *statu quo* for some years. Its increased or diminished prosperity must chiefly depend upon the terms of concord or of disagreement between Turkey and Russia.

Those who possess landed property in the governments near Odéssa, and who wish to have a residence in this town, go on building new houses, and their property may be useful to their families, though its value should be greatly diminished, or should the commerce of Odéssa be annihilated. Even under all the present unfavourable circumstances, some merchants are foolhardy enough to arrange establishments as if they had made up their minds to end their days at Odéssa, while they know not that the morrow may ruin all their plans and speculations. May this hint be useful to my countrymen!

It has been sagaciously remarked by M. Dupin, that "the government of Turkey is master of the Bosphorus, of the passage between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and, consequently, of the greatest part of the commerce of Odéssa and the shores of the Black Sea. The Turks govern this passage by arbitrary and changeable laws, thus impeding or facilitating commerce at pleasure. Thus the most important *débouché* of the commerce of the Russian empire is at the mercy of a barbarous state, which has no stability in the measures of its government. This inconvenience will become the more serious in proportion as the Russian provinces surrounding the shores of the Black Sea become more populous, more industrious, and, consequently, richer in articles of exportation; and

also in proportion as they may have more extensive and more varied wants of articles of importation."

The plans of the Russian government are still proceeding, as we learn by the following letter from St. Petersburgh of the 16th November last.

"The present state of the port of Odéssa renders it necessary to add to its extent, and to make several expensive improvements in it. It will be necessary to alter the Lazaretto and the dock-yards, to make canals, &c. In order to accomplish these works, means have been considered of to increase several branches of the revenue already existing, and to create new ones. For example, every vessel under a foreign flag is to pay the city fifty *kopeeks* per last; Russian vessels to pay only the half; but all vessels, without exception, are to pay twenty-five *kopeeks* for the support of the light-houses."

APPENDIX, No. II.

(*To p.* 438—444. *Vol. I.*)

MINERAL SPRINGS OF THE CAUCASUS.

In the place referred to above, I have alluded to the work of Dr. Haas respecting the mineral springs of the Caucasus. This work bears the following title: *Ma Visite aux Eaux d'Alexandre en* 1809 *et* 1810, *par le Docteur Frédéric-Joseph de Haas, Moscou,* 1811. It is now scarce, the greatest part of the edition having been destroyed at the burning of Moscow in 1812, and the rest having been distributed in presents to the author's friends. A copy of it is preserved in the library of Sir Joseph Banks.

Dr. Haas's work is divided into different sections, which treat of the history, of the climate, of the vegetation, and of the chemical analysis of the Waters of Alexander. Of the other two sections, one is called Medical Reflections, and the other points out what medical establishments are necessary at these waters.

The waters of the Caucasus, in common language, are divided into the *Goriatché Vodi*, or Warm Waters, and the *Kislaya Vodi*, or Acidulous Springs. By mistake, I have stated in page 440. that the name of *Waters of Alexander* was still retained for the latter, whereas Dr. Haas has bestowed this appellation upon the warm springs of Kon-

stantínogorsk. The following table, translated from this gentleman's work, will interest the scientific reader, and especially the traveller who reaches the springs.

Constituent Parts of Five of the Springs of Alexander.

In ten Pounds of twelve Ounces.	A	B	C	D	E
	Great Warm Spring. (*Goriatchi Vodi.*)	Mary's Warm Spring.	Elizabeth's Spring.	Catherine's Spring.	Constantine's Spring.
Muriate of soda	91.24	94.59	76.38	67.10	26.57
Sulphate of soda	68.66	68.59	57.28	34.37	32.64
Carbonate of soda	1.92	2.92	1.30	50.35	18.53
Carbonate of lime	64.25	57.50	47.25	11.15	57.54
Carbonate of magnesia	16.00	18.00	12.00	4.00	—
Alumina, with a little magnesia, and a trace of iron	0.50	1.00	—	—	—
Oxide of iron, with a little alumina and magnesia	—	—	0.50	0.25	10.52
Silica	6.12	10.00	7.00	2.12	4.18
Fetid sulphurous resin *	0.70	0.65	0.35	0.29	—
Extractif	?	?	?	0.60	?
	249.39	253.25	202.14	170.58	139.98

* Résine sulphureuse fétide. Stinkendes Schwefelharz of Westrumb.

APPENDIX, No. III.

(*To Vol. II. p.* 118.)

POISONOUS BUGS OF MIANA.

HAVING been disappointed in receiving some expected information with respect to the poisonous bugs of Miana, I addressed a letter upon the subject to that distinguished entomologist, Mr. MacLeay, who very obligingly sent me the following answer.

"Queen Square, Westminster.
2d December, 1824.

"SIR,

"I regret that in reply to your letter requesting information respecting the 'Miana Bug,' I should have so little to communicate.

"It appears, however, from the 'Bulletin des Sciences,' that Professor Fischer of Moscow, in the course of last year, published a 'Mémoire' of fifteen quarto pages, embellished with plates, on the insect called the *Malleh de Manèh*, specimens of which he had received from two different persons, the Chevalier Mazarovitch, the Russian ambassador in Persia, and an English gentleman of the name of Caley. Professor Fischer's 'Mémoire' is, however, quite sufficient for the purpose of depriving this celebrated insect of all its *venom*, and its history of all the *marvellous* that had been attached to it; and I understand that the Russian physicians who have lately investigated

the disease which attacks strangers at Miana, consider it as a species of anthrax, such as not unfrequently attacks strangers in warm and marshy climates. But however this may be, Professor Fischer has ascertained the pretended bug to be a new species of Latreille's Apterous genus *Argas*, and he has described it therefore under the name of *Argas Persicus*. This circumstance of itself proves how inaccurately it had been observed by Kotzebue and Porter, as it is no bug, and belongs even to the *Arachnida*, a totally different *class* of animals, which by the by, will sufficiently account for Kotzebue's having been disappointed in his expectation of seeing them fly. The only other known species of the genus, *Argas reflexus* of Latreille, is found in Italy, Spain, and the south of France, where it is common in pigeons' nests, and probably sucks the blood of the young birds. The British genus nearest to *Argas* is *Ixodes* or the *Dogtick*, which is so often troublesome in woods during the summer. So that it cannot, as M. Fischer says, be supposed for a moment by an entomologist, that the *Argas Persicus*, or *Malleh de Manèh*, has ever occasioned much more mischief than the loss of a little blood after the manner of its congeners. Indeed, the circumstance of an insect being poisonous only to strangers, and not at all to the natives of Miana, was of itself sufficient to throw doubt on the whole story; but now that Fischer has ascertained the genus of the insect, we must clearly seek some other cause for the deaths at Miana than the bite of a *tick*.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"W. MacLeay."

APPENDIX, No. IV.

(*To Vol. II. p.* 460.)

THE TEMPLE OF OUR SAVIOUR ON THE VOROBÉEVYA GORA, OR SPARROW-HILL, IN THE VICINITY OF MOSCOW.

THE solemnity which took place at the foundation of this temple, was one of the most imposing Russia has ever witnessed. The motives which led to its foundation, its uncommonly fine situation on the Sparrow-hill, and its immense intended magnitude, all give it a claim to particular notice.

The Emperor Alexander, deeply affected with the signal deliverance of Russia from the enemy, "as an eternal remembrance of the unexampled fervour, sincerity, and love to the faith and to their country, with which in these difficult times the Russians conducted themselves, and as a mark of gratitude to divine providence, who saved Russia from threatened ruin, resolved and made a vow to erect a church in the ancient capital of Russia, (or as it is called, *Mat Moskva*, i. e. Mother Moskva, or *Mat gradove Rossiiskich*, i. e. Mother of the towns of Russia,) in the name of the Saviour Jesus Christ." The foundation of this temple was laid on the 12th October * on the Sparrow-hill,

* The reason for choosing the 12th of October is explained thus by a Russian author, to whom I am indebted for a number of the following particulars. "On the 12th October," says he, "the church celebrates

which lies about five versts south-west of the Kremle. In the morning, divine service was performed in the church dedicated to the *Tichvinskaya* Mother of God, situated on the Lujnikii, not far from the *Novo-Devítchei* nunnery, in the presence of the clergy, those attached to the court, the military chiefs, and many of the most distinguished personages of Moscow.

The streets and the road from the Kremle to the river Moskva at the foot of the Sparrow-hill, were lined with troops,— infantry, cavalry, and artillery,— forming a grand exhibition of 50,000 men, who awaited the arrival of the Emperor and the Imperial family, to receive them with military honours.

The Emperor, the Grand Duke Nikolai Pávlovitch, and Prince William of Prussia, on horseback, with their respective suites, led the van of the cortege. The Empress and the Dowager Empress followed in state carriages with eight horses. Leaving the Kremle, the cavalcade soon arrived at the church of the Tichvinskaya Mother of God, where they were met by the Archbishop Avgustin, the metropolitan of Georgia, John, and the Archbishop of Georgia, Paphnutii, by the archimandrites of the principal convents of Moscow, by about thirty protoreis, 300 priests, and 200 deacons, with the life-giving cross, as well as by the most distinguished personages at court, generals, ministers, &c., where we shall leave them to celebrate the mass.

About the middle of the acclivitous side of the Sparrow-hill, where it was intended to lay the foundation of the church, was erected a very elevated extensive wooden

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the Jerusalem Mother of God, whose image, brought from Greece, is in the *Uspénskoi Sobore*, or Cathedral of the Assumption. It was painted in the 30th year after the ascension of Christ; *by its miracles* many Grecian towns were saved from the enemies.",

painted terrace, surrounded by a balustrade, and having an *ambon* or platform of the shape of a parallelogram with steps on each side, in the centre. Two temporary wooden bridges were thrown across the Moskva, from the south side of which to the foot of a wide stair which conducted to the terrace, a distance of about 700 feet, was made a wooden road with a rail on each side. From the terrace another stair conducted to the top of the hill. On the *ambon* was placed a large cubic hard sandstone, from the Tatarskaya hill, with an excavation in it. Silver vessels, for the *holy water* to be used at the consecration of the foundation of the temple, and places for the *miraculous images* were prepared. The terrace, the *ambon*, and the balustrade, were all covered with red cloth. As the weather was cold, a small pavilion was erected on the south side of the terrace, with an open fire, elegantly furnished, and covered by a Wilton carpet, as was also the place on which their Majesties and Highnesses stood during the ceremony.

At the conclusion of the service in the church of the Tichvinskaya Mother of God, a holy procession took place to the terrace, and the infantry and cavalry in the plain made different evolutions.

The supporters of the holy banners proceeded first, and were followed by the bearers of the miraculous images of the Vladimírskaya and the Iverskaya Virgin Mary, the images of the Moscow saints, Peter, John, Philip, and Alexei, and of the holy crosses. Behind the images proceeded two bands of choristers in their different dresses, who chaunted solemn airs. The clergy, amounting to above 500, habited in their various and richly decorated dresses, followed according to their rank. Then appeared his Majesty Alexander, with his spouse and mother, the Grand Duke, and Prince William of Prussia, with their

suites, &c., all the males with their heads uncovered. They were followed by a retinue of court ladies and gentlemen, military chiefs, ministers, &c.

Amidst the peals of innumerable bells, the sound of martial music, and in view of 50,000 troops, and hundreds of thousands of spectators, the procession passed the Moskva by one of the bridges mentioned. * The holy banners were deposited at the top of the stair leading to the terrace by the higher clergy, and the lower clergy, having crossed the river, lined the road on both sides from hence to the terrace. The anthem, *Praise to God*, was chaunted before the *holy images*, now placed near the *ambon*. After consecration of the water by the Archbishop Avgustin, the place destined to receive the first stone of the temple was asperged. Mr. Whitberg, who had designed its plan, then presented to his Imperial Majesty a gilt copper plate in form of a cross, on which was the following inscription. "In the year 1817, the month of October, on the 12th day, by order of the most pious, most sovereign great Gosudár, the Emperor Alexander Pávlovitch; in the time of his spouse the most pious Gosudárina, the Empress Elizavéta Alexéévna; in the time of his mother, the most pious Gosudárina, the Empress Maria Phéodorovna; in the time of the orthodox Gosudár Tsesarévitch and Great Duke Konstantine Pávlovitch, and his spouse the orthodox Gosudárina and Great Duchess Anna Phéodorovna; in the time of the orthodox Gosudár and Great

* It is said that 400,000 souls were present; I don't know how they managed to count them. The crowd was in fact enormous, and innumerable houses, roofs, windows, balconies, walls, benches erected on purpose, streets, lanes, trees, indeed every place was crowded; all Moscow and the vicinity were in motion, and the Sparrow-hill seemed a *living mountain*.

Duke Nikolai Pávlovitch, and his spouse, the orthodox Gosudárina, and Great Duchess Alexándra Phéodorovna; in the time of the orthodox Gosudár and Great Duke Michail Pávlovitch; in the time of the orthodox Gosudárina and Great Duchess Maria Pávlovna, and her spouse; in the time of the orthodox Gosudárina, Queen of Wurtemburg, Yekaterína Pávlovna and her spouse; in the time of the orthodox Gosudárina, the Great Duchess Anna Pávlovna and her spouse; this temple was founded to our Lord the Saviour Jesus Christ, in glory of his most holy name, and in memory of the unspeakable mercies which he was pleased to show us by the salvation of our beloved country in the year 1812, and who glorified among us his mighty power by putting an end to war.

"At the foundation of this temple were present the most pious, most sovereign great Gosudár, the Emperor Alexander Pávlovitch; his spouse the most pious Gosudárina the Empress Elizavéta Alexéévna; his mother the most pious Gosudárina the Empress Maria Phéodorovna; the orthodox Gosudár and Great Duke Nikolai Pávlovitch; his spouse the orthodox Gosudárina and Great Duchess Alexandra Phéodorovna; and his Royal Highness Prince William of Prussia. Avgustin, acting metropolitan of Moscow and archbishop of Dmitrof, performed the consecration.

"The plan and façade of the temple were designed by the academician, Charles Whitberg, to whom is confided the construction of the edifice.

"O Lord our Saviour, regard from thy holy throne this place, receive it as a habitation for thyself, and bless the actions of our hands!"

The Emperor having put the table into its destined place in the square stone above mentioned. Mr. Whitberg

presented to him a marble stone, a gilded silver hammer, and a trowel upon one silver plate, and on another plate some lime. All was now profound silence and attention. His Majesty advanced in a tranquil graceful solemn manner, deposited the marble stone in an excavation on the east side of the large cubic stone, and added a little mortar to fasten it in its place.

Mr. Whitberg having presented a marble stone, a silver hammer and trowel, and slacked lime to their Majesties, the Empress and the Dowager-Empress, the one after the other advanced slowly and solemnly, and likewise deposited these slabs in the excavation of the cubic stone. Another stone was placed by Prince William of Prussia. The Grand Duke Nikolai Pávlovitch deposited two stones, one for himself, and one for his spouse the Grand Duchess, who being unwell, was not on the terrace. Lastly, another stone was placed in the excavation by the Archbishop Avgustin.

On these stones were the following inscriptions: on the first, Alexander I. Emperor of all Russia; on the second, The Empress Elizavéta Alexéévna; on the third, The Empress Maria Phéodorovna; on the fourth, The Prince of Prussia, William; on the fifth, The Grand Duke Nikolai Pávlovitch; on the sixth, The Grand Duchess Alexándra Phéodorovna; on the seventh, his Eminence, Avgustin, acting metropolitan of Moscow.

Their Majesties having withdrawn to their stations, Avgustin ascended the *ambon* and delivered the following oration, which may be reckoned another fair specimen of Russian eloquence.

" Where are we? What do we see? What do we?

" Where are we? On the place on which, in the year 1812, that ancient capital with *horror* beheld the flambeau

kindled by the hand of the enemy for her extermination. Beheld, and inclining her grey front, prayed God that she might be the sacrifice of her country.

"What do we see? We see that same capital risen from ashes and ruins, clad in new beauty and magnificence, while elevating to the clouds her golden summits, boiling * with wealth and riches, and rejoicing at the fame of Russia, and the prosperity of all Europe.

"What do we? Do we wish to erect pyramids in honour of our compatriots, who by immoveable fidelity to the Tsar, by burning love to their country, by their praiseworthy combats on the field of battle, have joined their names to those worthy of our eternal benediction? O no! What is man without God? God, the Lord of the wise; God, having ordained his undertakings, gives reason and wisdom. The Lord of Sabaoth girds the impotent with strength, and renders futile the bow of the strong. Then, what do we? In the sight of heaven and earth,—confessing the unspeakable mercy and benevolence which the Supreme Lord of the world has been pleased to extend over us — attributing to him alone all the success, all the glory of the late wars,— we lay the foundation of a temple, consecrated to our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ.

"O God, with our eyes we have seen who accomplished these things in our days; therefore not by our humble sword elevated over the enemy: our own power did not save us! Thou alone saved us from those who despitefully fell upon us, and put them to confusion. *O let us praise God all the day long, and sing of his name through eternity!*

"Thou, the capital, particularly bearest upon thyself the

* Boiling. Eastern hyperbole.

stamp of the wonders of God; among thy ruins was broken the terrible power of the destroyer: the flames exterminating thee, also destroyed his strength: it inflamed the hearts of the Russians, and of other nations, for the return of peace and tranquillity. Therefore let us exalt the Lord our God, and standing on the bank of this, his holy hill, worship Him in spirit and in truth.

"Brave warriors, in all the combats completed by you, ye saw, or rather felt, the power of God raised over you and aiding you. Give therefore the glory to God, and in praise exclaim, Not we, not we accomplished this. The Lord Jehovah, our protector, the God of Jacob, remove wars to the ends of the earth. Thy works are all great and glorious.

"O God our Saviour, may thine eyes be open day and night on this place, where *Thine Anointed* lays the foundation of a temple, in glory of thy most holy name, and in memory of thy indescribable benevolence, demonstrated toward us! Receive from him this offering of thankfulness, with pure faith, with burning love, and in deep humility, presented to Thee: receive, bless, and complete his holy undertaking, grant thy mercy to him, and to all his illustrious family."

During the chaunting of "We praise thee O God," according to a signal made by means of a rocket, the artillery on the plain below fired three rounds, all the bells of Moscow began their rapid and merry peals, which continued till the evening, and the multitude testified their joy by exclamations and *ourras*.

A holy procession now took place back to the church of the Tichvinskaya Mother of God. The whole hill and plain seemed in motion the moment their Majesties quitted the terrace, and the scene was amusing. Men, women,

and children of all ranks, rushed like a torrent from the mountain brow; many were overset, and many borne in the air amidst the crowd, scarcely knew where they were till landed upon the terrace, of which number I happened to be one. During the ceremony, my situation being on the hill above the terrace, I was involved in a moment in the vortex which it was impossible to resist, and was hurried along, and only felt myself at liberty after a severe fall upon the *ambon*. It was impossible for the police to keep order; indeed, most of the watchmen were overthrown. Every one pressed forward to see the foundation of the temple, and the plate and the marble slabs deposited in the cavity of the cubic stone, which was opened on purpose to gratify general curiosity. Tens of thousands hurrying on to follow the procession, were met by innumerable crowds pressing up the hill to see the foundation. Many scorning the assistance of the bridges, or impatient of delay, dashed into the river, and crossed it by wading or swimming. The *ourras* of the crowd, the thunder of the cannon, the noise of the bells, and the mellow sound of music, rent the air together, or by turns, and was re-echoed by the neighbouring hills.

Their Imperial Majesties, during their return to the Kremle, were again received by the troops with military honours, soon after which they dispersed to their various quarters, and this grand ceremony concluded about three o'clock, though nothing was heard but mirth and joy all the day long.

After the foundation of the temple was laid, nothing of consequence toward the erection was done for three years. The matter was then taken seriously into consideration, and by an ukáz of his Imperial Majesty of the 7th July,

1820, which appeared in the following November, a commission was named at Moscow for the purpose of carrying the plans of the government into execution. This commission was composed of four members; two for the direction *ex officio* and *pro tempore*, the metropolitan of Moscow, Seraphim, and the Military-Governor, Prince Galitsin; and two perpetual, one of whom was Mr. Whitberg, the architect, who was also charged with the *economical* department, and another whom the Emperor was to nominate.

This commission receives 769,000 roubles annually for the salaries of those concerned with the building, and other expenses; and this sum is to be yielded by a fund of 2,000,000 roubles deposited on purpose. Every individual who shall fulfil his duties during the erection of the edifice is to have his salary continued for life.

The commission is placed under the immediate orders of the Emperor, and all affairs which relate to it are submitted to him through the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and of Public Instruction.

The commission did but little that was visible till the year 1823. A quantity of stones, and of wood, &c. alone, were laid down, and people began to suppose that the plan had been abandoned of rearing the temple on the Sparrow-hill.

The Sparrow-hill, which is about five versts distant from the Kremle, and is of considerable height, forms nearly a semi-oval curvature, and the Moskva river flows at a short distance from its base. This curvature was beautifully clothed with shrubbery and trees, and had a fine romantic appearance, especially from the city. But its effect is nearly destroyed, the brow of the hill having been

cleared for the foundation of this edifice. This measure gave great offence to some who were of opinion that nature was not to be *destroyed*, but to be *beautified* by art. The distance of the temple from Moscow was also pointed out as a formidable objection to the site fixed upon, and its enemies raised a clamour that the foundation on the side of the hill would be incapable of supporting its weight; and, indeed, they predicted that it would soon be ruined by numerous springs.

The public had made false conclusions, for the commission had been actively employed in making preparations upon an immense scale, so as to proceed with their plan. Different methods of carrying the Emperor's views into execution had been proposed, but at length that which I am about to mention was preferred.

In the summer of 1823, the crown had already purchased 22,000 peasants, with the estates to which they were attached, all of which are at no great distance from Moscow. It was intended to purchase other 2000 to make a total of 24,000. Of this number one fourth, or 6000, are to be employed every summer for the erection of the edifice, and of course at no expense to the crown. The 18,000 employed at home in tilling the land are to support those who are at work in Moscow, in lieu of paying an annual *obrok* for every individual of the 24,000. *

A million of roubles was to be drawn every six weeks,

* It was reported that, through the advice of Prince Galitsin, his Majesty, Alexander, had changed the plan, and that a *recruitment* was to take place throughout the whole of the Russian empire of four recruits from every hundred males capable of bearing arms, and that one of each of these fours was destined for the erection of the Temple of Our Saviour. But there seems no truth in this statement.

from the Lombard at Moscow, for the use of the commission charged with the erection of the temple, and 3000 workmen were soon employed in preparing its foundation.

Mr. Whitberg is not backward in showing the plan of the Temple of Our Saviour, and very frequently small parties meet on purpose at his house. The plan is very noble, but it does not possess the grandeur of that of St. Peter's at Rome, or of St. Paul's at London. Indeed, it appears to me, that when completed, it will owe its magnificence more to its immense size than to elegance of architecture. I am not sure that the termination of such a structure by one large and four small domes, is the best calculated to produce architectural beauty or effect; and, very likely, the artist was regulated in some of his arrangements by ecclesiastical laws and traditions; for all the component parts of this structure have some mystical allusion, as to the two natures of Christ, the four evangelists, the twelve apostles, &c.

The chief measurements of this immense intended temple are the following. The height of the whole edifice, reckoning from the foot of the hill to the cross, about 770 feet. The stair with a breadth of more than 350 feet, will commence at the distance of 490 feet from the bank of the Moskva river, and will be continued through five vast projections, which, serving as a foundation for the edifice, will lead to the middle of the hill, where already is laid the foundation of the lower church, which is to be consecrated to the Nativity of Christ. It will be elevated toward the top of the hill 105 feet, where the stair will divide to both sides. There will begin the church of the Transfiguration of Christ, with a handsome open space or

exit before it, of the breadth of thirty-five feet, and the length on each side of 560 feet. Over this church, around a magnificent central cupola, having a diameter of 175 feet, will be raised a third, or superior, church of the Resurrection of Christ.

The form of the lower church will represent a parallelogram, that of the middle church a square and a regular cross, and of the superior church a circle. This edifice will have five domes.* In the four smallest domes will be suspended forty-eight bells, composing four musical symphonies, which will be particularly used at the festival of the Resurrection of Christ. The height of this part of the temple, reckoning from the summit of the hill to the cross, will amount to 560 feet. On both sides of the lowest church, being itself a remembrance of the sacrifice of the year 1812, and serving as an appendage to the monument of this epoch, will stretch a colonnade to the extent of 2100 feet, at the ends of which will be placed two monuments, in height 350 feet: the one composed of pieces of ordnance taken from the enemy between Moscow and the frontiers of Russia; and the other of pieces of ordnance taken between the same frontiers and Paris, all now lying in the Kremle.

By a reference to the measurements of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, it will be remarked that the Temple of Our Saviour is intended to be higher, by 156 feet, reckoning only from the level of the summit of the hill, or the church of the Resurrection; and from the base of the hill, by 336 feet. The diameter of the cupola will exceed that

* I have treated at some length of the origin of *Bulbous Domes* in the History of Moscow, p. 601.

that of St. Paul's by thirty feet, and of course its circumference by ninety feet.

Regarded from the south, what an enormous building! What a dome! From the north, what a mass of stairs, projections, and churches, elevated no less than 770 feet, with a colonnade stretching 2100 feet, and two towers formed of cannon 350 feet in height, now presents itself to the imagination! The time allowed for its construction is twenty or thirty years; but many think it will never be finished.

APPENDIX, No. V.

HISTORY OF THE ORLOF FAMILY.

In "The Character of the Russians, &c." I have given some account of the palaces of Countess Orlof-Tchésmenska *, and of her style of living, because she is one of the most distinguished of the nobles, and, probably, the most distinguished female in Russia. In the time of Catherine the Second, her family acquired an enormous influence at court, which enabled some of its members to play a great part on the theatre of life. On this account, I have taken considerable pains to trace its history, so as to correct the mistakes of some preceding writers.

It has been reported by some, that the five brothers of the Orlofs were descended from the most obscure ancestry; but it appears that their father, Grigorii Ivánovitch Orlof, was a major-general, and also Governor of Nóvgorod. It is said that he was present in all the engagements during the Swedish and Turkish wars, in the time of Peter the Great, and that on account of his bravery and the wounds he received, the Emperor presented to him his portrait suspended by a gold chain. It is true that the Orlofs had served as subalterns in the army. But authors ought to have known, that the constitution of the Russian army requires, that all the princes and counts of the realm should serve, either as privates or subalterns, and that they must rise

* Vide p. 411—416.

to military rank by length of time and by merit. Civil rank may assist, though it cannot confer, military promotion.

I have been informed that Grigorii, Alexei, and Phéodor were educated in the land-cadet corps at St. Petersburgh, and afterwards made their progress to the higher ranks, ascending by the usual routine, till distinguished by the regards of Catherine II.

The ancestors of the Orlofs were emigrants from Prussia. The time of their arrival I have not been able to ascertain exactly; but, according to all accounts, they have been established for a long time in Russia. One of these ancestors, named after a relation, Vassílii *Orla*, gave this name the Russian termination in *of*, and introduced Orlof.

The whole of the Orlof brothers were intimately connected with the court of Catherine II., and, in the year 1762, received the rank of Count, besides other distinctions. It is stated the Empress considered them all distinguished patriots, and said it was rare to find such a family.

No. 1. "Count Iván Grigórievitch Orlof, the eldest of five brothers, born 8th September 1733, died 18th November 1791, aged 58 years, *to the heart-break of his friends and to the sorrow of all honourable people.*" *

At the ascent of Catherine II. to the throne, he was made captain of the *Prèobrajenskoi* regiment of guards, and although distinguished ranks and other honours were offered to him by that monarch, he refused them all with gratitude: he received nothing; and remained, during his whole life, attached to the service of his country, as captain. He passed much of his time in Italy, and seems to have

* This is a translation of an inscription in the family mausoleum, spoken of hereafter. The words in italics are a literal translation, and mean — to the affliction of his friends and to general regret.

valued liberty from restraint, and a tranquil life, above all mortal distinction, honour, or glory. He married Miss Elisazvéta Phéodorovna Rtistchef. He had no children; and his effects, except a seventh part to his wife, the countess, fell to his brothers.

No. 2. "Prince Grigorii Grigórievitch Orlof was, by seniority, the second son: he was born 6th October 1734, and died the 13th April 1783, at the age of 48 years. He was in the service thirty-four years: he was General-Chief-Master of the Ordnance, General-Director of the Fortifications, General-Adjutant of her Imperial Majesty, Commander of the corps of Chevalier-Guards, Senator, Chamberlain, Lieutenant-Colonel of the cavalry regiment of Life Guards, President of the Chancery of Foreign Tutelage, Knight of the Russian orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Névski, St. Vladimir Great Cross, First Rank, and of St. Ann." *

Count Gregory Orlof was particularly loaded with the favours of Catherine II. She obtained for him the title of Prince, and, as is well known, besides the other honours conferred upon him, gave him a superb lodging in the palace, when he became her *favourite*. She afterwards paid 40,000 roubles for the house of Stegelman the banker, which he ordered to be demolished, and rebuilt agreeably to his own taste. She presented to him the estates of Robsha and Gátchina, which had belonged to Peter III., and there he raised fine edifices. He bought estates in Livonia and Esthonia: he received in a present the fine yacht of Peter III., and placed sums in all the best banks of Europe. † The marble palace at St. Petersburgh was also built for him.

* Inscription in Mausoleum.

† History of the Life of Count A. G. Orlof-Tchésmenskii.

His career of favour was long and brilliant, and according to Storch, he seemed to share the throne on which he had placed Catherine II. *

At his death, Robsha, Gátchina, and the marble palace returned to the crown. At Tsarsko-Selo, there is erected a triumphal arch, in the summer gardens, at the entrance from the Gátchina road, to Prince Orlof, on account of the patriotic ardour and temerity with which he faced and quelled the plague and rebellion at Moscow, executed after the design of the Italian architect Rinaldi. It consists of a number of columns resembling gates, and supporting a gallery. On it is inscribed, "*Moscow delivered from misery by Orlof.*" The Empress had also a medal struck, about four inches in diameter, in honour of his success in quelling the rebellion, and expelling the plague from Moscow. On one side is his portrait, and around it the following inscription: "*Count Grigorii Grigórievitch Orlof, Roman Prince.*† On the other side, he is represented in the character of Curtius, leaping into the gulf, with this inscription: "*Russia has such sons.*"

According to the portraits of Prince Orlof, which I have seen, in his early days, he was a *fine young man*, whose physiognomy bespoke openness, mildness, and vivacity, rather than deepness, penetration, and vigour. In his riper years, frankness, candour, penetration, vigour, gentleness, and friendship are said to have been his characteristics, by his friends: his enemies have drawn a very different picture. His stature and appearance were gigantic.

Prince Orlof espoused Miss Yekaterína Nikoláevna Zenovyeva, whom he lost at Lausanne, during his travels

* Storch's Picture of Petersburgh, p. 37.

† He was made Prince by Austria, and therefore called Roman Prince.

in Switzerland. He had no children, and he died at Moscow in the month of April 1783; and, according to some, in a state of mental agony, on account of the deeds of his life.*

No. 3. "Count Alexei Grigórievitch Orlof-Tchésmenskii, General-Adjutant-in-chief, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Preobrajénskŏi regiment of Life Guards, Lieutenant of the corps of Chevalier-Guards, Knight of the orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Névskii, St. George, First Class; and of St. Vladimir, First Rank: he was Commander-in-Chief of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean Sea, he gained a decisive victory over the Turkish fleet, 24th of June 1771, and on the 26th of the same month he burned the Turkish fleet at Tchésmé, whence he received the appellation *Tchésmenskii*. On the 13th of September 1773, he received into his coat of arms the Imperial flag; and then, in 1806, he was constituted Commander-in-Chief of the fifth division of Militia. By seniority, he was the third of five brothers; he was born 24th September 1735; he died the 24th December 1807, in the seventy-third year from his birth." †

"In his early years Alexei Orlof excited universal astonishment, on account of his extraordinary firmness and strength. None of his play-fellows of the same age could overcome or equal him, in wrestling or boxing. These juvenile pleasures had a great influence upon the whole life of Orlof. He was accustomed to be conqueror from his earliest years, and he preserved this custom to the winter of his days. He was a lover of his country, an unshaken adherent to religion, a distinguished benefactor,

* Vide Tooke's Works.

† Inscription in the mausoleum of the family.

compassionate to orphans, indulgent to the unfortunate; his protection was open to all who sought it. His education is said to have been sufficiently extensive.

"At the age of manhood, Orlof was esteemed a very handsome man. The calm gravity of his face; his Grecian eyes; his significant smile; his agreeable and laconic speech, and rays of grandeur blazing amidst his predominant beauty and colossal appearance, rendered him the astonishment of all in the last century." *

Speaking of Prince Gregory Orlof, says Storch, "Though young and athletic, his brother Alexius, of Herculean force, and in stature like Goliath, was associated with him in his particular attachment to Catherine, at that time in the full vigour of youth." † His stature was 6 feet 8¼ inches. He was never very corpulent, but well-proportioned to his height, and remarkably firm and handsome.

As it is not my design to give a detailed history of Count A. G. Orlof-Tchésmenskii's life, I can only notice the principal events: — to those of minor importance, allusions are occasionally made.

After the victory of Tchésmé, and the return of the Count to St. Petersburgh, a grand fête was celebrated by the College of Admiralty, on the 24th June 1771. The members of the Synod, the Senate, of the Government Colleges, military and foreign, &c. were present. They went to the cathedral church of the Manifestation of Our Lord: thirty-one guns were fired after the anthem, *We praise thee O Lord.* They then adjourned, by previous invitation, to the house of the Vice-President, Count Iván Grigórievitch Tchérnishef. Each was presented with a medal, on one side of which is the portrait of Count Alexei Orlof-

* Life of Count Orlof-Tchésmenskii. † Picture of Petersburgh.

Tchésmenskii, and around it this inscription — "Count Alexei Grigórievitch Orlof, conqueror and exterminator of the Turkish fleet." On the other side are allusions to the engagement with the Turkish fleet on the 24th, and its destruction on the 26th June, as is shown by these inscriptions: "It was the happiness and the joy of Russia," "Tchésmé, June 24th and 26th, in the year 1770." "In gratitude to the conqueror, from the College of Admiralty."

At Tsarsko-Selo, an obelisk commemorates the name of Count Alexei Orlof-Tchésmenskii, and the victory of Tchésmé. It is a fine column, and rests on a great pedestal of Uralian granite, which weighed, when removed from St. Petersburgh hence, in the year 1777, 1950 poods. Seven versts from this capital, on the Tsarsko-Selo road, there is a church dedicated to John the Baptist, the fête of which is the 24th day of June, on which day the Turkish fleet was destroyed. Near this church is an Imperial palace, named *Tchésmenskii Zámok*, in honour of the conqueror, and the neighbouring village is known by the name of Tchésmé. Both the church and palace are built in the Gothic style.

"Count Orlof-Tchésmenskii left the splendid court, and went to Moscow: his brother soon followed him, and their houses formed a complete new street in the city, exhibiting in itself a rare conjunction of the beauties of nature, with the charming inventions of taste, riches, and genius."* Leading a happy life in the middle of his relations and friends, he married the daughter of General Lapuchín, who was in the twentieth year of her age, and he in his forty-eighth, in the year 1784 or 1785. In 1785, the

* Vide Description of them in Detailed History of Moscow, p. 411—416.

Empress Catherine being in Moscow, paid him a visit at his house, soon after the birth of the present Countess Orlof-Tchésmenska. His spouse also bore him a son in the following year, and died about twelve hours afterwards, The little Count lived till about two years of age, received a captain's rank from the Empress, and frequently appeared in uniform. The Count also had a son long before his marriage, to whom he gave the name of *Tchésmenskii*, and a handsome fortune. He had the rank of general, and died in Moscow at the commencement of the year 1820.

"While the Count's time was occupied between his wife and daughter, he did not forget his former amusements and pleasures. Every winter he instituted horse-races, on a race-course before his house, which every week, but especially on Sunday, engaged not only the inhabitants of Moscow, but also the nobility from all quarters of Russia. And every summer, Moscow was also indebted to him for another race-course, and races before his house, besides a Sunday's promenade in his English garden."

"In one word," says a flattering biographer, — "In one word, Count Alexei Orlof was not only the most esteemed and beloved of the Russian Boyars, but his spirit made him the centre of coalition of the Russian nobility, the soul of general enjoyment, manners, and customs, the hope of the unfortunate, the purse of the poor, the staff of the lame, the eyes of the blind, the repose of the wounded warrior, the physician of the sick citizen.

"Count Alexei Orlof-Tchésmenskii's house was always the temple of patriotism, the open gallery of innocent pleasures, the haven of merit and talents, the asylum of misfortune and misery. His benevolence was extended to all who had recourse to him. He reckoned it his first

pleasure to anticipate the petitions of those who sought his protection, and he performed his acts of goodness in the most secret manner.— His soul, as may be said, was Russian. He loved all native customs, manners, and pleasures. Boxers, wrestlers, strong men, singers, dancers, balancers, and horse-racers: in a word, all that indicated the virility, the firmness, the strength, the art, and the merit of the Russians was assembled in his house."

Being endowed with extraordinary strength, Count Orlof frequently exhibited the wonders of his prowess in the circles of his friends. Without believing the Herculean task that he could arrest a carriage and six in its progress, the many proofs he gave of his corporeal powers in bending and breaking rods of iron, in crushing tumblers and bottles to atoms, by his grasp, &c. proved them to be unusual. I cannot avoid relating the following anecdote, which is current in Russia. The celebrated Mr. Lukin, one day called at the Count's house, who was absent. The servant desired he would leave his name. Mr. Lukin immediately pulled down the iron rod which rung the bell, and which was of the size of an ordinary finger, and twisting it into a bundle of knots, desired the servant to present that *billet* to his master, who would know who had been calling. The Count soon afterwards returned the visit, and not finding Mr. Lukin at home, performed the same operation, and left his *iron twisted billet* to give notice of his call.

During the whole of the reign of Catherine II. she continued her attentions and favours to Count Orlof-Tchésmenskii, whom she calls in a letter to Voltaire, "*a hero born for great events.*" According to his panegyrists, the Count was also DISTINGUISHED during the reign of the Emperor Paul, which is true: and the reader of history

will recollect, that sovereign "*extended his benevolence*" to Count A. Orlof-Tchésmenskii by banishment. After the Count's exile in Germany, or rather during the reign of Alexander I. he was constantly in favour, and received additional honours. In 1806 he was made commander of the fifth division of the militia, for the use of which he sacrificed a part of his fortune; and his daughter, the present Countess Orlof-Tchésmenska, bestowed on it a quantity of arms. Afterwards the Count received a letter of thanks for the careful discharge of his duties, and his unwearied exertions as chief of the militia, got the large cross of the First Class of the Order of St. Vladimir, and also another letter of thanks on account of the Countess's present.

The history of the life of Count Alexei Orlof-Tchésmenskii, has been written in Russ by different authors, from whom I have extracted much of the foregoing account. The general strain of these works is not real biography, but panegyric. They contain many facts, however; but they do not tell all the truth. They give us only a front view of the picture, with a dazzling light. Some of the above quotations, I believe, are pretty just, and give an idea of the Count's mode of life. Certainly no nobleman kept a more hospitable or plentiful board than Count Orlof-Tchésmenskii, at all times open to his friends; and none gave more entertainments to the public. Very frequently in summer, he had festivals in his gardens, to which a decent dress and respectable appearance were a sufficient passport. Nobles, merchants, and citizens attended. Tea, coffee, fruits, wines, spirits, &c. were supplied to the visitors, by numerous lacqueys in attendance.

The panegyrists have not flattered his imposing appearance. His colossal size and handsome form, conjoined

with manly beauty to his other exterior qualities, were highly advantageous to him, and fit to captivate the multitude. Indeed from the portraits I have seen of him in his younger days, it was little to be wondered at, that the youthful and amorous Catherine's heart should have felt a tender attachment to such a chevalier of her brilliant court. In his more advanced years, his magnificent style of living, and his frequent public entertainments, gave him an importance in vulgar eyes, and combined to his high rank, his political exploits, the fame of Tchésmé, and the almost continual sunshine of Imperial favour, rendered him one of the most distinguished and most envied personages of Russian history in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

From all that I have heard of the character of Count Orlof-Tchésmenskii, particularly in the latter part of his life, though affable, far from cultivating the exterior graces of the *beau monde* — which too often serve as the cloak of flattery, cunning, and deceit, — he despised them, and professed himself a plain man. Frankness, penetration, determination, and vigour were as much pourtrayed in his noble visage, as vigilance, courage, intrepidity and inflexibility, sociability, sincerity, benevolence and friendship, were evinced by his conduct; and although these qualities were not always under the guidance of a regular and solid judgment, they were accompanied with good parts, and an extensive capacity. He partook of the failings incident to mankind. He was an admirer of the fair sex, and was sometimes violent, and oftener capricious, with those for whom he entertained the greatest regard and esteem, attachment and friendship. His taste for manly as well as low amusements, was carried to excess: — his generosity bordered on profusion, though never to the detriment of

his fortune. His mode of life prevented him from devoting enough of time to mental improvement, though he was a patron of literature, and had a good library, many volumes of which I have perused.

For the history of the part played by the Orlofs at the ascent of Catherine II. to the throne, as well as during her reign, as a contrast to the panegyrics of the Russian authors, I recommend the reader to look at Tooke's works; warning him, however, that every nerve seems to be there strained to vilify their character, and to commemorate the fate of Peter III., as if it were singular in the history of nations, or contrary to the course of imperfect human nature. I do not mean, however, to palliate the horrid part which Count Alexei Orlof is said to have acted in the murder of that most unfortunate monarch. Such a deed leaves a stain upon the memory of all connected with it, which the mighty streams of Russia could not wash away. The Count's conduct with respect to a princess who gave Catherine uneasiness, is equally reprehensible.*

Without being an admirer of Count Orlof-Tchésmenskii, or an abettor of his general conduct, I should be inclined to think, that in proportion as the Russian authors have eulogised, so have most foreign authors depreciated, his character. He had virtues, he had vices; the first shone in his public and in his private character, the latter were particularly evidenced in his political life. His failings were chiefly felt by his friends and favoured servants.

Count Orlof-Tchésmenskii's private fortune was increased by the death of Prince Grigorii and Count Phéodor; and by the death of Count Iván, presents formerly made and other property were also added to it;

* Tooke's Catherine II.

and notwithstanding all his magnificence, liberality, and profusion, exclusive of a fortune to his son, General Tchésmenskii, he left immense effects, besides nearly 40,000 slaves on many different estates, to his heiress the present Countess Orlof-Tchésmenska.

Tooke has confidently said in a note, that the only daughter and heiress of Count Alexei Orlof was married to Count Panin, which is a great mistake. He must have meant the daughter of Count Vladímir Orlof, who is still the wife of Count Panin. The heiress of Count A. Orlof-Tchésmenskii, is Her Excellency Anna Alexéevna Orlof-Tchésmenska, who generally resides at Petersburgh or Moscow, and has never been married.

Countess Orlof-Tchésmenska partakes more of the mother than of the father, being of a middle stature, and rather slender figure. In her visage are depicted calmness, gentleness, frankness, affability, and vigilance, rather than beauty; and her almost continual smile, polite manners, and winning address, together with her fluency in different languages, render her a pleasant associate. Her conduct appears to be extremely circumspect in Russia, where Continental manners prevail. She is very religious, a regular attendant of church, and though warmly attached to the Greek religion, the forms and ceremonies of which she observes with great attention, yet she is tolerant to all sects of Christians. She is liberal to all, and her purse is equally open to reduced nobility or common people, bond or free. Her good-nature leads her to form too favourable an opinion of mankind, and perhaps at times to an indiscriminate charity. She plays on the pianoforte, harpsichord, &c., and is fond of a retired life, and on that account lives in the country, generally at Ostrof about sixteen miles from Moscow, during summer, or rather till

driven away by the first fall of snow. When in the ancient capital, she spends her time chiefly at home, and in the society of her relations and a few friends, and receives visits from a number of the most distinguished nobility and clergy, high and low, who either desire her friendship or her protection. She seems happy, and apparently prefers a *single* life to the pleasures and pains of matrimony; having steadily resisted the addresses and solicitations of a number of distinguished characters. It is said that the object of her love died, and that since that event, many years ago, she has seemed a stranger to this passion. She is one of the maids of honour to the Empresses, and besides the order of St. Catherine, had the honour to receive the portrait of their Majesties. Those who receive this high distinction, are generally married, and are called *Dames de portrait.* If not mistaken, the Countess is the first unmarried lady on whom this honour has been conferred. Her Excellency is particularly distinguished by the Emperor, Empresses, and all the members of the Imperial family, and is a general favourite at court.

During the four years that I was attached to the Countess's establishments at Moscow, I was distressed with the plans and actions of her chief steward and others, who had determined on my ruin. I was protected by the Countess, but the frequent recurrence of disputes disgusted me, and I resigned my situation.

No. 4. " Count Phéodor Grigórievitch Orlof, of five brothers, by seniority the fourth; he was born on the 8th February 1741, and died in Moscow in May 1796, aged 55 years. He served forty years; he was General-in-chief, Chamberlain in activity, Knight of the Russian orders of St. Alexander Névskii, and of St. George, the Great Cross of the Second Class; he was present in various

battles during the seven years' war against the Prussians; then under the command of his elder brother Count Alexei Grigórievitch Orlof-Tchésmenskii in the fleet acting in the Archipelago against the Turks, he made a descent in the Grecian province of the Morea, and with a handful of men took some fortresses." *

In the large pond at Tsarsko-Selo, is elevated over an arch, a rostral column five *sajins* or thirty-five feet in height, to commemorate the name of Count Phéodor Grigórievitch Orlof, and the victory gained by him over the Turks in the Morea, in the year 1770.

Count Phéodor Orlof also distinguished himself in the engagement at Tchésmé. He was on board Admiral Spiridof's ship when she blew up, and had a miraculous escape from death. He was never married, and his property fell to his brothers, and to his illegitimate children. In the latter part of his life, though he bought the fine house of Demídof, he preferred living in a one story small house (in which some of these pages were written) adjoining to the garden, which he improved, and where he passed much of his time, being a lover of simplicity and tranquillity. At his death, by his will, the large house and gardens fell to Countess Orlof-Tchésmenska, by whom it is now occupied. †

Although Count Phéodor Orlof was never married, he had six natural children who received his name. One son Vladímir is dead, and a daughter, Anna Phéodorovna is married. The four sons now living seem to be of the true Orlof race. They all fought bravely, and distinguished themselves during the last campaigns. Alexei Phéodorovitch Orlof, who is now general aide-de-camp of

* Vide inscription on the family mausoleum.

† Vide Character of the Russians, &c. p. 413.

the Emperor, major-general and commander of the horse guards, was very active during the war, and was wounded in an engagement near Moscow. He is not much above thirty years of age, and has rapidly advanced to the high rank which he now holds, although not reputed to have great talents. It is said that Countess Orlof-Tchésmenska's influence at court has been of use to him. 2. Michail Phéodorovitch Orlof, major-general and commander of a brigade near Kiéf, is an excellent young man, of very general information, and is also high in favour. * 3. Grigorii Phéodorovitch Orlof, who is a captain of cavalry, (but, it is said, will soon be made a colonel,) and lost a leg at Krasnoi. 4. And Phéodor Phéodorovitch Orlof, who is a captain of the Ulanskoi regiment of cavalry, and also lost a leg on the same field of battle, near Smolensk, in 1812.

No. 5. The fifth and last of the Orlof brothers is Count Vladímir Grigoriévitch Orlof, who is still living at Moscow; a respectable old gentleman. He was never in the army, although he has the rank of lieutenant-general. He is one of the chamberlains, is a knight of several orders, and a number of years ago, he was president of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburgh. Early in life he married Miss Strachelberg, a German lady, who was maid of honour to Catherine II., and who brought him a numerous family. In the year 1817, she was interred in the Orlof family tomb, which was built by Count Vladímir many years ago, when several bodies were transferred to it by his order from the adjoining church where they had been deposited. His spouse, being a Roman catholic, could not

* Since this was written, I have been informed that he has been ordered to resign, in consequence of the liberality of his sentiments and his speech.

have been interred in the church according to the forms of the Greek religion, and she had a wish that her ashes might repose with those of her husband, which probably will soon be the case, as the Count is now advanced in years; and, indeed, I have been told that he has already ordered a coffin to be placed in the family vault, to be ready for the reception of his mortal remains.

Although Count Vladímir Orlof has not distinguished himself by any brilliant talents, or by any victory by land or sea, and although no sovereign's obelisk immortalise his name, yet he has been useful to his country in his day, has passed a long life in tranquillity and happiness amidst his family and relations, and will respectably fall, like a shock of corn fully ripe. He is immensely rich, having received many presents from his brothers during their lives, as well as effects at their death. He had five children. 1. "Count Alexander Vladimírovitch, Under Lieutenant of the cavalry regiment of Life-Guards, oldest son of Lieutenant-General, and Actual Chamberlain, Count Vladimírovitch Orlof; he was born 28th July, 1769, and died in France, in the town of Leon, 12th October, 1787, in the nineteenth year of his age, and was transported thence by the desire of his relations." * He was a young man of great promise, and his death caused inexpressible pain and sorrow to his relations. 2. Yekaterína Vladimírovna, now Madame Novotsilsof. 3. Sophia Vladimírovna, now Countess (Nikíta Petróvitch) Panin. 4. Natalia Vladimírovna, the deceased Madame Demídof. 5. Count Grigorii Vladimírovitch, state-counsellor and senator, who married Countess Soltikof, by whom he has not had any children. In consequence of their residence in London, they are well known

* Inscription in family mausoleum.

to the English nobility. The Count has lately distinguished himself by a clever work on the history of music and painting in Italy.

The Imperial-looking estate of Otráda, which formerly belonged to Count Orlof-Tchésmenskii, was presented to his brother Count Vladímir Orlof, and contains the family tomb, which occupied my chief attention when there. It is built of unplastered brick and white calcareous toof, so intermingled as to please the eye, and in a neat chaste style of architecture. It is of a circular form, is surmounted by a small gilt globe bearing a gilt cross, and is surrounded by an iron balustrade. The door of the balustrade being opened, I entered and ascended a small flight of steps. A plate-iron door, and then a grated iron gate firmly locked, are the safe-guards of the mausoleum. I viewed the tombs where repose the once mighty but now silent dead; and a thousand thoughts connected with them, and with the history of Russia, crossed my brain in rapid succession.

This mausoleum internally is divided into two parts or stories, by a circular gallery furnished with an iron rail. Opposite the entrance in a niche, is a painting of the Resurrection of Lazarus. In similar niches hang the portraits of Prince Grigorii Orlof, Count Alexei Orlof-Tchésmenskii, Count Iván Orlof, and of Count Phéodor Orlof. On the left of the door, a niche is occupied by the portrait of Count Alexander Orlof, son of Count Vladímir Orlof; and on the right, an empty niche awaits the portrait of the last-named nobleman, and the last of the five brothers. To each of the portraits appends a large brass plate with an inscription.

From the circular gallery I descended by a stair into what may be called the vault. Opposite the above-men-

tioned portraits, are placed large handsome elevated tombs, or coffins, the cover of each adorned with a gilt cross and *memento mori* figures, besides a brass plate with a short inscription indicating that the mortals represented by the portraits in the niches above, are now deposited in the corresponding tombs below.

While viewing the portraits and reading the inscriptions, a degree of melancholy came upon me, which rendered *painfully pleasant* my meditations on the vanity of human distinctions and of mortal life.

APPENDIX, No. VI.

POLITICAL LETTERS.

(No. 1.)

To the Editor of the Times.

Sir, — In order that the public should not be led to believe, from the Dedication of Dr. Lyall's book, lately published, on Russia, that that book has ever received the sanction of his Imperial Majesty, I should feel obliged if you would put a paragraph in your valuable paper, to the effect of the enclosed sketch, which I have written in French.

I remain, Sir, your most obedient servant,

G. Benkhausen, Russian Vice-Consul.

Russian Consulate, 29. Great Winchester Street, April 14.

We are authorised to declare, that Dr. Lyall, who at the head of his work on Russia has placed a Dedication to the Emperor of Russia, had no authority to do so, never having solicited or obtained permission to offer to his Imperial Majesty a production, which, by its tendency, evidently hostile to Russia, could never certainly be received by the sovereign of that country. *

* Vide *The Times*, April 15, 1824.

(No. 2.)

To the Editor of the Times.

SIR,—Although I have not the honour of being known to you, I trust you will do me the favour of giving a place in your columns to the following remarks, in answer to Mr. Benkhausen's letter in your paper of the 15th inst.

I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,

R. LYALL.

1. Harmood Place, Hampstead Road,
London, April 19.

The motives which induced me to dedicate *The Character of the Russians* to his Imperial Majesty Alexander, are clearly mentioned in that work. As the words "Dedicated by Permission" do not any where occur, of course the statements in *The Times* were altogether unnecessary, as only tending to disprove what was neither asserted nor pretended. It is of little importance to me that my work is considered "hostile to Russia," if the world give me credit for impartiality, truth, and independence. *

(No. 3.)

RUSSIAN LIBERALITY.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

SIR,—You will greatly oblige me by giving a place to the following remarks in *The Morning Chronicle.*

I am your very obedient servant,

R. LYALL.

88. St. Martin's Lane, London, June 1.

* Vide *The Times*, April 20, 1824. Remarks something similar to No. 1. appeared in *The Courier* of April 16th; and No. 2. was also published in that paper, April 19th.

Having answered the letter of Mr. Benkhausen, the Russian Vice-Consul, in *The Times* of April 15, and an anonymous paragraph in *The Courier* of the 16th, with respect to the dedication of my quarto volume to his Imperial Majesty Alexander, I was not a little surprised at the appearance of the following autocratic resolution, or ukáz, in a number of the London newspapers, about the 26th, 27th, and 28th of the same month:—

St. Petersburgh, April 5.

The Emperor has just decided, that no foreign writer shall be authorised to dedicate any work to him, without having previously solicited permission from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, through the Russian Ambassador resident in the country in which the author resides. This *prohibition* has been caused by the inconceivable audacity of an Englishman, who has, with great effrontery, dedicated to his Majesty a book, written against his government, and the entire Russian nation.—*From Galignani's Messenger.*

Although beyond doubt I am the *Englishman** alluded to, yet, for various reasons, I had determined to delay for some time answering the above proclamation. With every feeling of reverence for crowned heads, and with peculiar veneration for the Emperor Alexander—by destiny a despotic sovereign, but unequalled for mildness; and now, at times, as unfairly abused as he was, ten years ago, unduly exalted—I am bound to assume the rights of a free-born Briton—I

* The same term has been applied to an English Ambassador. The word *gentleman* exists in their language under the form of *Gospodin*, but the Russians are so generally loaded with titles, that it is almost a mark of distinction to be without any, and they neither comprehend the meaning nor the application of that expression.

must break silence — I must defend myself — I must do justice to others, when such actions as the following are recorded: —

St. Petersburgh, April 13.

Lyall's work on Russia has done us infinite mischief, and I believe we may attribute to it those suspicions which have of late appeared to attend English travellers. Some of them have severely felt the effects of these suspicions, and it will be long before they will cease. Thus *a Blind Spy, a Methodistical one, and a Quaker*, have lately been sent beyond the borders. *

I shall now answer both of the Petersburgh productions.

I believe it is indisputable that an author may dedicate his works to whom he pleases, the words *by permission* not being used. The dedication may or may not be accepted. As a matter of courtesy, when practicable, it often happens that the individual to whom the work is dedicated is consulted; but this was impossible in my case. Besides, I imagined as I had defended the Russians against unjust aspersions and violent calumnies, while I ventured to tell many disagreeable truths, that his Imperial Majesty, Alexander, would have an opportunity of distinguishing himself by the display of a liberality, little characteristic of his predecessors — if not by sending me a *diamond ring, a ribbon, or a cross* — by *quietly* taking advantage of my writings, and making such improvements in his empire as appeared to be absolutely necessary. Instead of this, he has, probably, never read a page of "*The Character of the Russians*:" nor glanced at my Account of the System of Military Colonis-

* Vide *The New Monthly Magazine, and Literary Journal*, No. 42., June 1, 1824, under Foreign Varieties, p. 262.

ation in Russia, but listened to the report of some of his courtiers, whose modes of action are therein exposed, and whose interest it was to continue concealment.

The idea of a Tsar of Russia sending a *prohibition* to *Englishmen*, from the banks of the Néva, is so preposterous, as to have excited universal laughter, ridicule, and contempt; and I cannot but lament that his Imperial Majesty should have been so ill-advised by his Cabinet Council, as, by the publication of such a proclamation, to have become the butt of public opinion. Could not one of the ministers, or confidential servants of the crown, have whispered in his ear, that an *Imperial ukáz*, though omnipotent in Russia, becomes as "sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal," long ere it reaches the metropolis of Great Britain, and that there, were it even proclaimed by an Imperial herald, it would be an empty sound — *vox et præterea nihil* — a scroll which Liberty, the goddess of *Englishmen*, would trample under foot, and "leave not a wreck behind?" So much for the dedications of authors, and the *ukázes* of emperors in this land of freedom.

In reference to the second extract from St. Petersburgh, I must express my sincere regret, if, after all my precautions, and the careful suppression of names, any resident, or traveller in Russia, should have sustained, or should henceforth sustain, any injury, in consequence of the publication of my works. — To avert this, in justice to my friends, of all nations, in that empire, and particularly with a reference to my countrymen, I am imperiously called upon to declare, as I now most solemnly do declare, that for my writings *I alone* am responsible. I was no spy, as has been basely insinuated. I had no connection with any government, with the agents of any government, nor with any political party. I collected every kind of inform-

ation for my own amusement and improvement, with the design of giving just views of Russia and her natives to the world, and of endeavouring to be useful to that immense empire. The Russians can only blame me for speaking truth, which, as a friend writes, *les pique*. I have anxiously sought to establish my character as an impartial and faithful recorder of facts, and if I may judge by the public press, that character has been universally granted me, and I trust I will merit its continuance. The approbation of my countrymen is to me the dearest of terrestrial distinctions. *

(No. 4.)

NARRATIVE OF LIEUTENANT HOLMAN THE BLIND TRAVELLER'S EXCURSION FROM MOSCOW TO IRKUTSK.

To the Editor of the Courier.

SIR, — In connection with the subject of my letter in *The Courier* of the 1st of June, I beg you will give a place to the subsequent remarks in one of your columns.

I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,

R. LYALL.

45. Haymarket, London, July 8th, 1824.

When I published my last letter in answer to an *ukáz* of his Imperial Majesty, Alexander, and a communication

* Vide *Morning Chronicle*, June 3, 1824. This Letter was also published in *The Courier* of the same date.

from St. Petersburgh, I had the strongest reasons to believe that the "*Blind Spy*,"* who was sent beyond the borders of the Russian empire, could be no other individual than my amiable and worthy friend, Lieutenant Holman, of the Royal Navy, and one of the knights of Windsor; a gentleman already well known to the public by his curious and interesting work, entitled "*Travels through France, Italy, &c.*" of which a second edition has lately made its appearance. I naturally embraced the earliest opportunity of seeing Mr. Holman after his arrival in the metropolis, on the 1st instant, when my suspicions as to his being the said "*Blind Spy*" were confirmed. This enterprising sightless traveller, like Ledyard and Cochrane, had determined not only to travel through Siberia and Kamtschatka, but to pass in a Russian vessel from Asia to the north-west coast of America, and from thence, doubling Cape Horn, or Batavia and the Cape of Good Hope, to reach Europe, and so complete the tour of the world. When at Moscow, I regarded Mr. Holman's plan of proceeding farther, either to the south or the east, as very romantic; but he always urged, that on every new spot, novel local information was to be gained, *even by the blind*, and that travelling was the most pleasant manner of passing away his time, totally shut out as he is from connection with the visible world. Finding all dissuasions of no avail against the irrevocable determination of Mr. Holman to proceed on his journey, or as he used to say, "*to find his way*," I, like others of his friends, did every thing possible to assist him in his views and arrangements. Other two individuals, besides myself, saw him safely placed in his travelling equipage, and with a

* We have heard of "*The Chinese Spy*," of "*The Turkish Spy*," &c.; but we have never before heard of "*The Blind Spy!!!*"

heavy heart I uttered the command, *Pashóle* (go on), to his coachman. Mr. Holman was immediately in motion for Siberia, accompanied only by a Tartar postilion, whom Captain Cochrane had brought from Kazán, and knowing nothing of the Russian language beyond the negative and the affirmative.

After a good deal of personal adventure, which, it is to be hoped, Mr. Holman will lay before the public, he reached Irkutsk, above 2000 miles beyond Tobolsk, and 3500 from Moscow, where he intended to pass the winter. He was delighted with the idea of completing his projected long journey round the globe, which imagination had run over a thousand times, and for which he was making all necessary arrangements. Here, however, his intentions were altogether baffled. A *Felt-Jæger*, or government courier, who had left St. Petersburgh on the 4th of December, 1823, reached Irkutsk about the 29th of the same month, with secret despatches to the Governor-General (Lavinskii). This gentleman, who had previously treated Mr. Holman with every possible kindness and distinction, and who was now made the reluctant organ of communicating the decision of the Russian cabinet, much to his credit, behaved with the greatest delicacy. He endeavoured by every possible means to persuade Mr. Holman to return to Europe, all of which proved equally vain He then pointed out the great solicitude of the Russian government for his safety, and even alluded to the fears of the Emperor, that some accident might befal him, "*a helpless blind traveller;*" but still without moving Mr. Holman from his original and determined purpose, of going to Nertchinsk, and afterwards along the Chinese frontier to Mamatcheen, so as to be present at the grand festival of the new year. At length

General Lavinskii was necessitated to disclose the disagreeable secret. In the gentlest manner he made known the orders which he had received by the courier, who had been sent on purpose to conduct him beyond the borders of the Russian empire. This intelligence was a thunderstroke to Mr. Holman, who could not then, more than he does now, comprehend the cause of such procedure towards him, especially as he never had the least connection with political party, or acted in any way to excite the smallest suspicion. But there was no utility in asking an explanation — no resisting the Imperial mandate. The Felt-Jæger's orders were to conduct Mr. Holman from Irkutsk to Kazán, and from that town, by the governments of Simbirsk and Saratóf, to Brodie, on the Austrian frontier. Having made arrangements with his banker at Moscow to suit his travelling to the east, he was not prepared with funds to meet the expences of an uncontemplated journey to the west, in consequence of which General Lavinskii gave him permission to go by way of Moscow. Mr. Holman had naturally asked whether the government meant to pay his expenses. While he was answered in the negative, it was laconically added, "*You are not a prisoner, and are allowed to travel like a gentleman.*" This is quite *à la Russe*, and requires no comment. General Lavinskii kindly offered money sufficient to carry Mr. Holman to Moscow, which he was reduced to the necessity of unwillingly accepting, and which he afterwards repaid with grateful feelings. When in this capital he was not permitted to visit any of his friends, but they were allowed during three days to come and see him; always, however, in the presence of his guard, — the Felt-Jæger, or one of the assistants of the police not in uniform. In consequence of bad health, his stay was prolonged to five days at Moscow, at the expir-

ation of which he received an order from the governor (not the worthy and humane military Governor-General Prince Galitsin) to depart, *well or sick*, and it was cruelly hinted to him, that in case he did not then move off, *he would be carried beyond the precincts of the city.* What inhumanity! Otherwise Mr. Holman was universally treated like a gentleman; and, wonderful to tell, his papers were not seized, but have all reached England. I should strongly suspect, however, that the Russians examined them without his knowledge, taking advantage of his blindness and using a false key to his portmanteau; but finding nothing in them of an improper nature, the officers of the crown acted in this apparently liberal manner. Mr. Holman thinks this could not have happened, as his papers were always by his side, and the key always in his pocket. Although he has given many proofs of the astonishing improvement of the other senses and faculties which generally follows loss of sight, yet he may have been deceived. His memory is extremely retentive, and therefore important facts were not inserted in his journal, which, I doubt not, will contain a good deal of "*the Blind Spy's*" personal adventures in the frozen regions of Siberia. As Mr. Holman possesses considerable scientific knowledge, some of the *lacunæ* of Captain Cochrane's lately published and amusing volume may be filled up.

It is rather a curious circumstance, that of three adventurers who have wished to cross from Asia to America, and from thence to complete the tour of the terrestrial globe, not one has succeeded. The celebrated Ledyard, who had accompanied Captain Cook round the world, was suddenly arrested at Irkutsk, on pretence of his being a French spy, and by an absolute order of the Empress Catherine II. he was hurried back from Siberia in a *kibítka*, between two guards. Captain Cochrane's reasons

for not proceeding farther to the north-east, however specious in Great Britain, are not altogether satisfactory to those acquainted with the subject in Russia, and his return without having accomplished a single great object of his, so called, *pedestrian journey*, must always be subject of regret. No foreigner has ever had better, if equal, opportunities of carrying his plans into execution, had they been more matured, or had he wisely taken measures so as to have been able to have satisfied the demands of the Tchuktchi tribe before he reached their territory. It is one thing to be hospitable to a stranger in passing through any country—to afford him even clothes, and food, and shelter—and another, to accompany him, or to conduct him on an expedition. Sledges, dogs, and provisions are wanted for travelling in the land of the Tchuktchi, and it is not to be thought they will be furnished without remuneration. The savage, though he may refuse *direct payment*, can and must be rewarded in some other way, so as to content him. Without money or other means, all expeditions must prove abortive, as might be foreseen before commencing them. Although Mr. Holman's departure gave me deep concern, yet I never doubted of the success of his plans, and though (like Captain Cochrane) I considered the accomplishment of his design of penetrating through Siberia as an extraordinary achievement, I was persuaded he would complete all he undertook. His friends at Moscow had thought it preposterous in him to go to Siberia, and therefore, to prevent "*chatting, laughing, and ridicule*," he kept his purpose of visiting America to himself. From Irkutsk, application was made by Mr. Holman (according to the laws of Russia, before a stranger can quit the Empire) for permission, and a passport to leave Siberia. The answer was the order of the

Felt-Jæger. This is to be regretted, because his determined enterprising spirit — his total disregard of apprehended *additional* dangers in consequence of his want of sight, but which he finds greatly compensated by the improvement of his other senses, and some of his mental faculties — his pleasing physiognomy — the suavity of his manners — his state of *stone blindness* which would excite the compassion of even the most savage breast — all conspired to the success of his plans. But the Russian government completely blasted them. He made his way to Moscow, and from thence to Cracow, where he was detained three weeks, in consequence of his not having been furnished with a proper passport by the Russian government. He then visited Vienna, Prague, Carlsbad, Dresden, Leipzig fair, Berlin, Hanover, Bremen, and Hamburgh. By sea he reached Hull, and finally got to London.

Mr. Holman is by no means decidedly of opinion that the publication of my letters in the newspapers, or of my works, led to his arrest and his transportation beyond the frontiers, though this has been promulgated by the public press. A question of considerable importance is, whether party spirit or jealousy may not have led to the whole of the extraordinary (or rather ordinary) procedure of the Russian government. My friendly connection with Mr. Holman at Moscow may have excited suspicion, and some wicked individual may have whispered "*a bad report*" in the ears of the Police, which of course rapidly reached the Imperial government. As soon as the circumstance is explained, I shall take care to make it public.

In reference to the "*Quaker Spy*," who was also sent beyond the borders, I know little more than his name,

and I have been informed that this step was occasioned by his having been engaged in, or connected with, some smuggling transaction. Of the "*Methodistical Spy*" I know nothing, unless he be a Mr. ———, a gentleman about to take holy orders, who was arrested and detained last April on the frontiers of Prussia. *

* Vide *The Courier*, July 10th, 1824. This letter was also published in *The Morning Chronicle*.

APPENDIX, No. VII.

ITINERARY OF THE JOURNEY.

	Versts.
From Moscow to Podólsk	32
Lapásna	33
Sérpuchof	27
Závodi	33
Voshán	23
Volótya	20
Túla	15
Yásnaya Polyána	17
Sólova	18
Sergíevskoyé	25
Máloyé Skurátovo	25½
Bólshoyé Skurátovo	20
Mtsénsk	28
Valtsébska, or Ivánovskoyé	27
Orél	27
Kanúbri	17½
Krómi	19
Tchuvárdina	22
Dmítrevsk	28
Upóroyé	21
Postoyálniya Dvóri, on the rivulet Usója	22
Sévsk	24
Posniakóvskiya Postoyálniya Dvóri	21
Tolstudúbova	20
Yésman	16
Glúchof	15
Tuligólova	20
Królevets	19
Altínovka	19
Batúrin	29
Bórzna	29
Kamárovka	20
Néjin	30
Nósovka	26
Kozári	14
Kozeléts	24
Semipólki	25
Brovari	29
Kief	18
Véta	17
Vassílkof	18
Grébenki	28
Krásnoyé	20
Vintshéntovka	20
Karapíshi	19
Bóghoslavle	15
Moskalénki	16
Korsún	17
Olshána	31
Zvenigórodka	23

	Versts.
Yekaterínopole	15
Täinovka	20
Legizína	18½
Uman	24½
Khalovínska	40
Bóghopole	50
Románovka	18
Konstantínovka	15
Alexándrovka	16
Voznesénsk	13
Anovka	25
Kolonia Vormsa	17
Znatchka Yavórskaho	13
Pokróvka	22
Kudéntsova	16
Málŏi Búyalsk, or Bogílnik	18
Odéssa	24
Adjelík, or Dúphinka	18
Teligúl, Troítskoyé, Koblevka, or Cobley	28
Krasnŏi Traktir, on the rivulet Sasék	22
Koziánof	30
Phéodorovka	20
Sabínoyé	17
Nikolaéf	28
Kopánki	26
Belozérsk	16
Khersón	17
Ingulétz	20
Tyáchinka	18
Beresláf	31
Kachóvka	5
Tchérnaya Dolína	26
Tcháplinka	25
Pérekop	26
Ushun	24
Dyúrmen	21
Aibar	24
Ablan	22
Sarabúze	22
Sympheropole	19
Baktchíserăi	30
Sevástopole	32
Balakláva	18

	Versts.
Bäidar	20
Kikenis	20
Alyúpka	18
Nikíta	22
Kútchuk-Lampát	18
Kútchuk-Uzen	20
Uskút	25
Kutlák	22
Sudák	12
Suúk-Su	12
Topli	18
Karassubázar	16
Zúiskaya	21
Symphéropole	20
Zúiskaya	20
Karassubázar	21
Brundítskaya	21
Krenítchka	22
Káffa	24
Porpátch	22
Argín	21
Sultánovka	22
Kertch	23
Yenikalé	10½
Tamán	18
Búghas	18
Sénnaya	18
Perepíska	15
Temrúk	16
Kurtchánskaya, or Andríevskŏi Post	25
Kalaúskaya, or Petróvskaya	25
Kopílskaya	18
Kurakubánskaya	25
Mishátovskaya	18
Kopánskaya	17
Yekaterínodár	22
Korsúnskoyé	28
Redutskii Karantín	12
Ust Labínskaya	18
Ládojskaya	18
Tiphlískaya	18
Kazánskaya	17
Kavkázkaya	18
Timijbéskaya	23

	Versts.
Alexándrovskoyé	12
Nóvo-Troítskoyé	28
Rojéstvenskoyé	27½
Stávropole	25
Beshpaghír	31
Sergiévskoyé	33
Kalínovka	17½
Alexandrovsk	19½
Sábli	27
Alexándré	40
Gèorgiévsk	12
Karáss and Konstantínogorsk	35
Kislavódskii	40
Karáss	40
Gèorgiévsk	35
Pávlovskaya	21
Malkínskaya	18
Prochladínskaya	14
Yékaterínograd	17
Pavlodólskoyé	18
Mozdók	13
Constántine Redoubt	35
Elizabeth Redoubt	30
Vladikavkáz	25
Lars	25
Kazbék	16½
Kóbi	16
Kasháur	16
Passánanoor	20
Ananoor	22
Dushét	10
Khartiskárst	24
Tiflís	26
Muchrován	30
Gambóra	19
Teláv	24
Kvarélli	30
Alavérdi	35
Teláv	20
Gambóra	24
Muchrován	19
Tiflís	30
Khartiskárst	24
Dushét	10
Ananoor	22

	Versts.
Passánanoor	20
Kasháur	16
Kóbi	16
Kazbék	16½
Lars	25
Vladikavkáz	25
Elizabeth Redoubt	30
Constántine Redoubt	35
Mozdók	13
Pavlodólskoyé	18
Yekaterínograd	17
Prochladínskaya	14
Malkínskaya	18
Pávlovskaya	21
Gèorgiévsk	20
Alexandré	12
Sábli	40
Alexándrovsk	27
Kalínovka	19
Sergíevskoyé	17½
Beshpaghír	33
Stávropole	31
Moskóvskaya	31½
Dónskaya	20
Bezopásnaya	22
Peregrádnoyé	25
Medvéjé-Kolódets	23
Kalalúskaya	22
Letnítskaya	24
Ptchanokópskaya	30
Srédnoyé Yegorlítskoyé	27½
Níjni-Yegorlítskoyé	26
Metchétnaya	26
Kagalnítskaya	28
Batáiskaya	18
Zmiévskaya	29
Novo-Tcherkásk	19
Zmiévskaya	19
Rostóf	17½
Tchaltir	17
Tchulék	17
Sambék	14
Taganróg	17
Koróvyé Brode	20
Shelkóvninska	31
Yasínovskaya	21

	Versts.
Kolodiäsnaya	12
Yesaúlovskaya	25
Ivánovskoyé	27
Uspénskoyé	25
Lúganskŏi Zavode, and Kamenŏi Brode	25
Jéltoyé Selo, or Deviati Rote	15
Yandélovka, or Raï-Goródka	25
Nova Aidara	18
Shulchínka	27
Starobélsk	15
Zakótnoyé	23
Osínova	12
Belalútskaya	16
Rovénka	28
Yeremén	28
Olchovátka	26
Karpénkof	44
Ostrogójsk	35
Korotiäk	17
Phorostan	23
Oleni-Kolódets	23
Masilka	19
Voronéje	24
Starojívotnoyé	25
Beztújevka	16
Khlébnoyé	16
Zadónsk	27
Izváli	19
Yélets	20
Pálna	30
Nikolaëvka	22½
Yephrémof	20
Bólshiyé Ploti	16
Nikítskoyé	27½
Bóghoróditsk	25½
Dedílova	25
Túla	33
Volótya	15
Voshân	20
Závodi	23
Sérpuchof	33
Lapásna	27
Podólsk	33
Moscow	32
Nóvaya Derévna	24
Bóghoródsk	26
Plótava	25
Pokróf	25
Lipna	28
Dmitrovskoyé	27
Vladímir	22
Barákova	15
Súdogda	24
Móshki	29
Drátchevo	26½
Múrom	29½
Monakóvo	31
Aziäblikovo	30
Yarímovo	20
Aléshkovo	25
Bólshoyé Doskino	20
Níjni-Nóvgorod	25
As mentioned in the text, a different route was followed from the above, in returning from Níjni-Nóvgorod to Moscow, the stations of which are according to choice:— the distance is about	430
The stages between Petersburgh and Moscow are contained in every book, and need not be enumerated here	728
Versts — Total...	7682

The distances between the stations are not always charged the same by the Post-Boors, or by the *Smotrítels*. One sometimes pays for twenty-three versts, and rides only twenty; in the same manner, when you ride twenty-three, you only pay for twenty. Where the road is very bad, by this mode the boors are recompensed; and, where good, a deduction is made.

THE END.

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